Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-92-121 *23 June 1992*

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Bucharest radio reports that President Ion Iliescu held telephone conversations with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur on the situation in Moldova. The talks concluded with the decision that "the presidents of Moldova and of the Russian Federative Republic should give orders for an immediate cease-fire." Bucharest radio reports that during a Supreme Defense Council meeting, President Iliescu stated: "I am more optimistic today following last night's telephone conversations with President Snegur and President Yeltsin.... I found them receptive to the proposal I made.... It appears that the shooting has ceased, and according to initial reports from both sides, these measures are being observed." Further talks on the situation will be held by Romania, Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine in Istanbul in the coming days.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

According to TANJUG, President Alija Izetbegovic proposed to Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, to postpone the meeting with Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman scheduled for 25 June. Izetbegovic expressed his "readiness" to participate in the meeting, but he proposed that it be postponed until Sarajevo airport is opened "so that UNPROFOR can secure the trip to the airport and a safe departure."

Yugoslavia

International—TANJUG reports that EC President Jacques Delors stated that "additional sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia might be imposed." Delors also said Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and his government "were the main culprits of the current situation in Yugoslavia."

Bulgaria

BTA reports that the Podkrepa National Trade Union's strike is continuing, and that Georgi Gruncharov, leader of the Trade Union of Sailors and Stevedores of the Ruse Port Complex, commented that "the strike will last till the Podkrepa National Trade Union is admitted as a full member of the National Council for Social Partnership." BTA adds that "Podkrepa Labor Confederation strongly objects to creating tension in Bulgarian ports.... According to them, such an atmosphere would cause moral and material damage not only to the Burgas Port Complex but also to the whole country."

Central European Security Conference Opens 19 Jun

AU2206133292 Budapest MTI in English 1906 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest 19 Jun (MTI)—A three-day conference entitled "Central European Security: New Dimensions, New Challenges" opened in Budapest on Friday [19 Jun].

The event was initiated by the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Ministry, and the Rand corporation of the United States—a research institute dealing with strategic issues.

Also in attendance at the conference are invited guests from the countries of the Visegrad Trio (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland).

Participants are to review current issues related to the defence situation in Eastern Europe, the role of soldiers in a democracy, relations between legislative and executive powers and the army, and the consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The agenda is also expected to include matters of regional cooperation, and relations maintained with Western and pan-European security institutions.

Future of Visegrad Three Discussed

LD2106212592 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—Participants of the three-day conference held under the title "Central European Security: New Dimensions, New Challenges," carried out useful and open exchanges, said Rudolf Joo, deputy secretary of state of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, in an interview with MTI on Sunday [21 Jun], at the end of the conference.

He said the closed conference was attended by Hungarian, American, Czech and Slovak and Polish political experts.

It became clear at the conference that the major international factors consider the "Visegrad Three" (Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia) as one of the most important components of international reality. Indication of this is that they not only hold separate talks with the three countries, but it seems they consider the Visegrad cooperation as a group in itself with which joint talks should be held.

The disintegration of the Soviet state and Yugoslavia was also discussed, as well as the Czechoslovak process which seems extremely similar.

A question raised at the conference was what about the future of the "Visegrad Three" inasmuch as Slovakia becomes independent. According to certain views, this will harm the international, inter-state and bilateral relations, and problems can arise in view of this in cooperation between the "Visegrad Three".

Others believe that irrespective of what the decision of the Czech and Slovak nations will be, as it will be taken in a democratic manner, everyone should accept it. This is also necessary in the interest of continuing the Visegrad regional cooperation. Over the past months, the three capitals have consciously spoken about the cooperation of three countries and four nations.

Relations with NATO, the Western European Union, and with the organization of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were discussed as a separate point on the agenda of the Central European Security Conference.

Hungarian Official Assesses Talks

LD2206122392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] A consultation limited to U.S. security experts and representatives of the Visegrad Triangle was held in Budapest at the weekend with regard to Central Europe's security. Rudolf Joo, deputy state secretary for the Ministry of Defense, assessed the consultation in this way.

[Begin Joo recording] I think this meeting also has symbolic political significance. The Visegrad Triangle is increasingly recognized by the big international players as one of the elements of political and international reality. In other words, they negotiate with the three of us on the basis that—in this joint form too—our opinion must be taken into account. I sense, undoubtedly, the process of recognition here, and at the same time the sign of anxiety, naturally, as to whether in the region of the Visegrad Triangle—which until now has been viewed as relatively stable—the process we are witnessing in Czechoslovakia today causes or may cause negative or disadvantageous change.

Many have formulated the view that it would be a great pity if the likely process of separation in Czechoslovakia were to make impossible the form of cooperation which has been started here. [end recording]

Visegrad Three Defense Experts Discuss CSFR Split

AU1906102692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jun 92 p 3

[Interview with Pavel Seifer, director of the CSFR European Security Center; Henryk Szlajfer, deputy director of the Polish International Relations Institute; and Dr Tibor Kozsegvari, director of the Hungarian Defense Research Institute, by Zoltan Szalai; place and date not given: "Is the Possible Revival of the Small Entente a Real Danger?"]

[Text] The emergence of an independent Slovakia has become a reality in the wake of the elections in the CSFR. What new challenges does this mean for the Eastern-Central European region? Is the danger of a

revived small-entente real? Security policy experts of the most affected countries in the region answered these questions.

[Seifer] The split has not yet taken place. However, if it does, we will have to reconsider a lot of things. The biggest question is what kind of political and economic relations the two separated states should work out. The military aspect of the issue is perhaps the easiest problem to solve. The creation of an independent Slovakia does not threaten the security of this region, but the social tensions involved in this separation deserve much more attention. In my opinion, Europe would easily accept a civilized separation of these two countries. In any case, it is unfortunate that [British Prime Minister John] Major and the others did not express their reservations about this situation one year ago. It seems that the world only pays attention to an event when things are going badly there. As a phenomenon, the small-entente clearly belongs to the new division of post-World War I Europe. Times have changed, and I do not regard the discussion of this issue as justified.

[Szlajfer] There is no danger whatsoever in the relations between the Visegrad Three. On the contrary. No doubt, there are some issues on which Slovakia and Hungary have different views, but this difference of views cannot give any reason for military confrontation. The very existence of the Visegrad Three is a value in itself for Poland. If we only look at the negotiations with the EC, the need for close cooperation within the Visegrad Three is clear. In my opinion, the strong nationalism and economic populism of the winners of the Slovak elections are hardly in harmony with the guidelines aimed at integrating the country into Europe. I hope that a period of sober evaluation will follow now after the elections, and the two sides will reach a compromise that will make it possible for the Visegrad Three to continue to be made up of three countries. However, the creation of an independent Slovakia does not threaten Poland. If I think about the basis on which the small-entente could reemerge, I must say that there is no reason for this; if there is one, it can only be an anti-democratic reason.

[Koszegvari] The relations with Slovakia are particularly important for us Hungarians. We do not yet see clearly the possible future security policy conducted by a possible independent Slovakia; nor do we know the size of its armed forces.

As for the small-entente, there is a danger of "coordination" in the case of Serbia, Romania, and Slovakia, countries that are in a bad economic situation, but there are not yet serious signs attesting to this possibility. In any case, Hungary must work out proposals that would hinder the creation of such an alliance; if Budapest is unable to hinder this process, larger European factors should also be involved.

WEU Invites Bulgaria To Participate in Meetings

AU1806205492 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Brussels, June 18 (BTA)—A leading official of the Western European Union [WEU], the emerging defence umbrella limited to European membership, said today that Bulgaria would be invited to participate in annual meetings with the nine-nation pact and to have regular consultations on the ambassador level when the WEU moves from London to Brussels in January 1993.

The Bulgarian foreign minister and defence minister are to attend the WEU's organizational meeting tomorrow in Bonn. There will also be a separate session for the nine members plus the newly independent states of Eastern Europe—the three Baltic Republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. It will be the first time the sides have met.

According to the official, who spoke on a background basis, the reconstructed WEU would eventually admit new countries as members, associates and observers. An Eastern European country with an association agreement with the European Community would have eligibility for association with the WEU as well, the official said. Bulgaria is conducting negotiations with the EC for association, a process that is expected to be complete by the end of 1992.

The official said the WEU would plan for humanitarian, peacekeeping and armed "peacemaking" missions in Europe, using forces pledged by the member states. He said the WEU, like NATO, was "not in a position now" to give security guarantees to the countries of Eastern Europe but could promise a process of regular consultation. Unlike the similar NATO Cooperation Council, the WEU consultation will not include Russia, the Ukraine or other former Soviet republics.

Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires Asked To Leave

AU2206194492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Statement issued by the Foreign Ministry in Tirana on 22 June]

[Text] Radomir Bogdanovic, charge d'affaires of the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, was summoned to the Foreign Ministry today and was told that, in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution No. 757 of 30 May 1992, the responsible Albanian authorities seek to demand the reduction of the Yugoslav Embassy's personnel in Tirana. Radomir Bogdanovic, entrusted with the post of charge d'affaires, has been asked to leave the territory of the Republic of Albania within one week after receiving this notification.

Nano Addresses Socialist Party Congress

AU2006175392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Report by Sokol Terihati]

[Text] The First Congress of the Albanian Socialist Party [PSSh] began its proceedings this morning. Besides 630 delegates, Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidency, two delegations from the Italian Socialist Party, the Greek PASOK party, Kosovo's National Unity Party, and the Bulgarian and Hungarian Socialist Parties participated in this congress.

PSSh Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi opened the congress. He then introduced Chairman Fatos Nano to deliver the report to the congress.

The report first stressed that the PSSh was founded last June as a result of the work and efforts by the reformative forces within the Workers' Party, which announced its end and departure from political life in its 10th congress. The PSSh's first year of existence has been simultaneously a year of confronting the multiple problems of the economic crises and fierce political struggle.

Analyzing the 22 March elections, Fatos Nano pointed out that the PSSh was affirmed as one of the country's most important forces, which gained 27.4 percent of the seats in parliament. The PSSh considers the 22 March elections as a proof of the support that this party enjoys among the people.

The second chapter of the report was about the continuity of the PSSh's existence. It stressed that this party is determined to fight against every kind of tutelage and other phenomena in its relations with other forces and social organizations. The PSSh is for establishing relations of partnership, cooperation, and aid in the framework of the democratic socialist alternative. Further deepening of democracy within the party ranks is another important current duty. That is why it is intended to make changes in the structure of the party managing committees' functioning in the center and districts by organizing them on the basis of commissions. The party assesses that this new type of organization will increase the responsibility of its members and the real contribution of everyone in solving present and future problems.

The chapter called The Socialist Opposition—Guarantee of Democracy and Pluralism pointed out that it is the PSSh's responsibility to play the role of a strong opposition in the field of democracy and pluralism in our country. In this direction, its struggle in parliament will play an important role and aim at issuing laws that will enable social transformation in a democratic way. The report then pointed out that new local government elections will soon be held in Albania. The PSSh's objective will be to elect nearly half of the candidates it has presented.

The part on the economic reform stated that this party is for establishing a market economy with social dimensions. This constitutes its strategic aim for helping the country emerge out of the crisis and preserve its prosperity. The PSSh is of the opinion that we should get out of the crisis situation, but this requires expeditious, effective, and specific solutions that will ensure, establish, and preserve the necessary political, social, and economic equilibrium. The PSSh supports measures for a natural integration into the world market by giving priority to the integration into the European economy. It favors ownership of the working people and objects to privileges of the former owner minority to the detriment of the majority. This party thinks that one of the most important steps in carrying out the reform successfully is to compile and draft temporary legislation in the field of foreign and especially private investments, because this is the road to introduce as quickly as possible the welcomed capital that will bring significant changes in the economy.

The chapter on foreign policy stressed that Albania naturally belongs to Europe and that foreign policy should not confront the integrating processes that are developing on our continent. The PSSh unreservedly supports the rights of the Albanian population in Kosovo and Cam and all the foreign policy activities that serve to solve the national question. This party has the opinion that the foreign policy of the Albanian state should not have geographic borders, but a dynamic equilibrium.

Concerning the PSSh's cooperative relations with other leftist parties in Europe and the world, it was said that the PSSh's objective from the start has been to fully adhere to the Socialist Internationale. Before being recognized by the Internationale, it aimed at being first known and understood by the Albanian people.

The report informed the delegates that the PSSh Managing Committee and Presidency presented an official request to be accepted into the Socialist Internationale and Organization of the Progressive Mediterranean Parties some time ago. Chairman Nano invited the congress to support the presented demands by special resolution.

In conclusion, he wished success to the first PSSh congress.

The second session continued with questions and discussions. The congress will continue its proceedings this afternoon.

Further Reports on Trade Union's Dockers Strike

Burgas Dockers Join Varna Dockers

AU2206101492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] We are in touch with our trade union correspondent, Petur Donchev, who is at the headquarters of the Podkrepa National Trade Union. Are there any new developments?

[Donchev] I am at the National Strike committee of the Podkrepa National Trade Union. The people here are working strenuously, because messages continue to arrive all the time. A report has just arrived from Burgas. According to the message, the dockers there have joined the strike. Thus, your earlier report is already outdated.

I would like to point out that the losses will be very large. I report this with regret. The regret is shared by others, as the message of the regional organization of the Podkrepa National Trade Union in Varna, which announced the strike this morning at 0530, pointed out. The message pointed out that the strikers understand that their strike will inflict great losses to the national economy, but the blame lies with the government.

I will point out that the strike was prompted by the disagreement of economic leaders throughout the country to negotiate with the leaders of the Podkrepa National Trade Union.

At about 1015 a delegation of the National Strike Committee, led by its chairman, Mr. Royev, and the spokesperson, Ms. Mariyana Atanasova, had a meeting with Docent Nikola Vasilev, deputy prime minister and chairman of the National Council on Social Partnership. Ms. Atanasova will report on that meeting.

[Atanasova] At the meeting with the deputy prime minister we presented our demands, which were formulated in our declaration of 4 June 1992. Unfortunately, however, the deputy prime minister assumed a nonconstructive position, and therefore, he bears complete responsibility for the further development of the strike.

[Donchev] Ms. Atanasova, I think that those are strong words. Let us hope that in the next few hours ways and means of establishing a dialogue will be found, because dialogue is the only way to resolve such problems.

Government Views Demands Unacceptable

AU2206165292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] The government considers the demands of the Podkrepa National Trade Union as unacceptable, Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev declared in a briefing for reporters shortly before the opening of today's cabinet session.

Mr. Vasilev pointed out that the cabinet members were likely to discuss the aforementioned trade union demands at their session, and that a debate on the possibility of a forthcoming strike of the Neftokhim Petrochemical Plant workers in Burgas may also be envisaged.

The government further discussed the framework of economic cooperation with Greece at a session behind closed doors today. Problems related to national security are also being discussed behind closed doors. Following this, the cabinet members are expected to deal with routine items on the agenda.

We expect to have more about the cabinet session on our further news programs.

Government Views on Neftokhim Strike

AU2206195292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Regarding the escalating tension at the Burgas Neftokhim Petrochemical Plant, the government adopted a declaration in which it is pointed out that negotiations with the banks are currently under way about granting turnover credits and that the government hopes to obtain a positive result within the forthcoming one or two days.

The banking accounts of the Neftokhim Shareholders' Company are not blocked. Government experts are also working on a new plan for the the repayment of credits. A group in charge of financial supervision over companies and groups for the restructuring and optimal improvement of production are being established.

Negotiations are also under way for supplying the Neftokhim plant with crude oil at turnover prices. The financial revision on the former management's work has also been concluded.

At today's session, the Council of Ministers is expected to introduce equal conditions for Bulgarian and foreign importers of petrochemical products. The government considers it highly inappropriate to fan social unrest under such circumstances, because it would only benefit those who are hiding behind (?trade union) problems.

The discontent of the petrochemical workers over the unresolved problems in the petrochemical branch is likely to create problems for the Varna and Burgas airports tomorrow. As Minister of Transportation Aleksandur Aleksandrov announced, Neftoimpeks, which is the chief fuel provider for Burgas and Varna airports will discontinue the fuel supplies for the two aforementioned airports as of tomorrow. Despite all this, the flights will not be interrupted, since certain quantities of reserve fuel have been saved. A compensation for the fuel in short supply will be possible only after [word indistinct].

Ruse Port Workers Join NPS Strike

AU2206201592 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Ruse, June 22 (BTA)—"The strike will last till the Podkrepa National Trade Union (NPS Podkrepa) is

admitted as a full member of the National Council for Social Partnership," Georgi Gruncharov, leader of the Trade Union of Sailors and Stevedores of the Ruse Port Complex, told BTA.

This morning 40 stevedores, machine-operators and sailors of the two Ruse ports and the port fleet joined the strike of their colleagues in Varna and Burgas. They make up a third of Podkrepa National Trade union members in the complex. The other shift will join the strike tomorrow.

The strike of the stevedores and machine-operators of the Podkrepa National Trade Union disrupted the operation of the two ports. The complex is not processing barges loaded with metals, cars and sugar. The remaining cargo, tins, chemicals and coal are being unloaded according to schedule. According to Engineer Vasil Mitev, manager of the complex, it will not stop functioning. The processing of cargo is being transferred where the equipment is operated by members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), one of the two major trade union amalgamations participating in the National Council. The strikers declared they will not stand in the way if not locked out, a measure they will not allow.

NPS Podkrepa is convinced that there is no other way of making the government meet their demands even though workers are the greatest losers.

According to the NPS Podkrepa Transport Trade Union in Ruse, drivers of the Ruse-based Bus and Trolley Bus Transport Company will join the strike tomorrow. They will adopt the so called "Italian variant" starting with a one-hour slow-driving strike and increasing the strike time by an hour every next day. [passage omitted]

Burgas, June 22 (BTA)—Meanwhile BTA received a declaration of the two major trade union amalgamations, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, whose members, according to the document, make up 90 per cent of Burgas Port employees. Loading and unloading operations today proceeded according to schedule, there is no strike of stevedores, the declaration reads. The members of KNSB and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation strongly object to creating tension in Bulgarian ports. According to them, such an atmosphere would cause moral and material damage not only to the Burgas Port Complex but also to the whole country. Stevedores are unanimous that they would on no occasion take strike action, which would have a disastrous effect on Bulgarian economy.

Foreign Minister Ganev on Black Sea Cooperation

AU2206195692 Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—The forthcoming signing of a declaration on Black Sea cooperation is an important event in inter-Balkan relations, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said today in an interview for National Radio. President Zhelyu Zhelev and Foreign Minister Ganev will attend a meeting of the Black Sea countries' heads of state and government leaders in Istanbul, at which the document will be signed on June 25.

This is a declaration of political significance. The sides to it will express their will to develop economic contacts, to make the best use of the location of the countries in and around the Black Sea area, Mr. Ganev said. The declaration is not intended to set up a common market or a free-trade zone. It is about taking full advantage of the opportunities for economic cooperation among countries which belong to the same geographic region, Mr. Ganev said. This cooperation will not run counter to Bulgaria's European orientation. It will be an important factor of stability in inter-Balkan relations, the Bulgarian foreign minister said.

He stressed that the declaration will cover cooperation in the Black Sea area. The signing of such a declaration is directed against the formation of axes in the Balkans. Foreign Minister Ganev stressed that the Bulgarian delegation to Istanbul last autumn insisted that Greece sign the declaration as a founder member. He added that now Bulgaria expects Albania to be invited, too.

The Bulgarian side will propose that the ministers of foreign affairs and of the economy meet in Sofia the soonest possible to work out specific cooperation projects, Mr. Ganev said in an interview in connection with the forthcoming meeting in Istanbul. He singled out environmental protection and telecommunications as possible spheres of cooperation.

Nuclear Signing Linked to Removal From Cocom List

AU2206121392 Sofia BTA in English 1119 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—The United States will help Bulgaria out of the COCOM list after an agreement on cooperation in the use of atomic energy is signed at the June session of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], Mr. Yanko Yankov, chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, said at a briefing today.

The working group of G-7 presented a report at the IAEA forum in Vienna on the financing of East European reactors. According to the nuclear safety criteria set out in the report, the Bulgarian units 1 and 2, and possibly 3 and 4, can be exploited for yet another five years, Mr. Yankov said. The long-term exploitation of units 5 and 6 would be licensed if some of their key systems for control are replaced, he said.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher is expected to arrive in Bulgaria as an observer on the problems of nuclear safety of G-7, Mr. Yanko Yankov informed.

Havel Considering Extending Term of Office

LD2206130392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Vaclav Havel sees an advantage in a possible prolonging of the president's term of office, in that a new president could not be elected for four years in a situation when it is not clear whether a federal administration will exist until then, said Michael Zantovsky, the president's spokesman, at a briefing at Prague Castle. The prolonging of the presidential mandate, which for President Havel is to end on 5 October, would have its negative features too, said the president's spokesman, adding that this step depends exclusively on the decision of the Federal Assembly. Michael Zantovsky said that the president sees the referendum as the most democratic way of making a decision about the future form of Czechoslovakia. However, if there is another constitutional way the president will respect it.

When asked whether the president will take further steps toward preserving the common state, Michael Zantovsky said that the president insists on observing the Constitution. He added that it is the best that can be done at this moment.

Democratic Left Party Against Havel Presidency

LD2106170192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] The republican council of the Party of the Democratic Left [PDL] met in Bratislava today. Zelmira Chrenkova phones in from the press conference.

[Chrenkova] At the start of the press conference, Chairman Peter Weiss read the PDL statement on the present political situation in the CSFR. The PDL welcomes the outcome of the talks between the Civic Democratic Party [CDP] and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [MFDS]. The party highly appreciates the fact that the strongest movements have decided to take the constitutional road.

Nevertheless, the PDL does not consider it correct that the constitutional setup should be decided by only two political sectors. This party will promote the principle of the constitution of the Slovak Republic. According to the PDL, the most favorable road is the approval of the constitutional law on the adoption of the constitution of the Slovak Republic which would stipulate the type of constitutional setup for our state, including the sovereignty of the republic. The consequences must be decided by the citizens. The PDL therefore unambiguously favors a referendum.

There is an assumption that in all the parliaments third streams may be formed which need not share the same view as the CDP or the MFDS. The PDL is for a common state, that is, for a looser federation, with equal status for both republics.

The council decided that none of the PDL deputies will support the candidacy of Vaclav Havel for president of the CSFR. They recognize the political image of Vaclav Havel in the world, in the United States, and in Europe, they appreciate his role during the change of orientation of Czechoslovakia in November 1989, but in the past term they expected more activity on his part during the state setup talks between the Czech and Slovak National Councils. Also, during the preelection campaign, he stood on the side of certain parties which failed in Slovakia, and that is proof of a certain attitude of the citizens toward the president.

'Full Text' of MFDS-CDP Political Agreement

LD2206135492 Prague CSTK in English 1213 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 22 (CSTK)—Following is the full text of the political agreement between the Czech and Slovak June 5-6 election winners, signed by ODS [Christian Democratic Party] Chairman Vaclav Klaus and HZDS [Movement for Democratic Slovakia] Chairman Vladimir Meciar in the Slovak capital of Bratislava on June 19.

The leaderships of the ODS and the HZDS:

1. Realise the great historical responsibility in the situation facing them after the 1992 elections in the Czech and Slovak Republics, and want to resolve it jointly in a constitutional way.

2. With the aim to ensure the continuity of all Czechoslovak constitutional bodies and processes started after November 1989, they agreed to constitute a federal government and agreed on its programme declaration, which is part of this agreement.

3. They note the differences in their election programmes and political goals concerning Czechoslovakia's future state setup. The ODS considers a federation (being a single subject of international law) the only reasonable and functioning form of a common state, while the HZDS regards that such a form would be a confederation of both (Czech and Slovak—ed.) republics, both being subjects of international law. The ODS does not consider a confederation with both republics being subjects of international law to be a common state but a union of two independent states. The ODS prefers two fully independent states, i.e. a constitutional breakup of the existing state, to a confederation.

4. They consider it to be their common task at present to initiate a process by all legal means, which will lead to an agreement on solving the country's state setup, to be reached between the (Czech and Slovak - ed.) National Councils by September 30, 1992.

5. If two states are formed, both being subjects of international law, the ODS and the HZDS consider it appropriate for the sake of good neighbourly relations

and mutual cooperation to seek such forms of coexistence between the two states and such a framework for cooperation, which would be in accord with traditions and with current as well as expected needs.

6. They will propose that, in case Czechoslovakia splits, the National Councils adopt laws under which Czechoslovak Federal Parliament deputies will be incorporated in the republics' legislative bodies.

7. The principles of the Federal Government programme declaration are binding for both parties. On this basis they will regularly exchange information and consult one another at the Federal Parliament level. The chairmen and leaderships of the two parties will hold regular meetings according to developments.

8. This agreement does not affect relations of the ODS and the HZDS with other political parties.

9. The ODS and the HZDS undertake to conclude an agreement on other central bodies of state administration by July 31, 1992.

Slovak Party Officials on Need for Referendum

LD2206171192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Today's friendly and calm atmosphere in the Slovak parliament is without a doubt a very welcome sign; however, the rules of private and political life cannot be the same. We all know that from the very beginning of the election term the deputies will have to make important decisions that probably will be a result of a difficult political struggle. The cardinal issue is the future constitutional setup. As you know, the views of political parties and movements in the Slovak National Council on the sequence of steps leading to a referendum on the future position of Slovakia differ. That is why Jarmila Tosecka and Sona Jesenska asked representatives of all political subjects to give their views. They asked Jozef Prokes of SNP [Slovak National Party], Ladislav Pittner of CDM [Christian Democratic Movement], Vojtech Bugar of the Hungarian CDM-Egyutteles coalition, Milan Ftacnik of PDL [Party of Democratic Left] and Milan Secansky of HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia]:

[Begin recording] [Prokes] The sequence of three steps leading to the resolution of the constitutional position of Slovakia, with the first step being the declaration of sovereignty, must be understood as a right to decide one's own affairs. It does not mean making the decision. The next step would be to adopt the constitution of the Slovak Republic, which is a legal system of a republic or a state, and subsequently, in the period before the Slovak constitution comes into effect, a referendum should be called. I consider this quite logical. To alter these steps would result in what happened in the former Soviet Union. They also started with a referendum, in which nearly all the republics said that they wanted to remain in a united Soviet Union, but within three months after that all the republics declared not just their sovereignty, but also independence. For this reason, I think that the three steps that the HZDS proposes today, and which we proposed one and a half years ago, are quite logical, fully democratic, and will also be accepted as such abroad.

[Pittner] Precisely at this time these issues were discussed at a CDM Council on Saturday. We unequivocally demand that a referendum be called before irreversible steps are taken.

[Bugar] First of all, we should know what the proposal will be like. We are saying that while the negotiations on the constitutional setup are going on, the electorate should first decide in a referendum, and parliament should then take the next steps. In other words, our coalition favors the following sequence of steps: First, call a referendum, and then, the parliaments should do their job in a constitutional way and the Czech and Slovak national councils and (?the federal parliament) should come to an agreement.

[Ftacnik] At the moment, we are respecting the fact that talks between national councils will take place. We do not think that the national councils can make a final decision, as it was said that they should reach an agreement by 30 September. In our view, this can only be interpreted that they will agree only on the procedure, that is, how this problem will be solved. In view of the differences of opinion of the two political representations, it is necessary, in our view, to ask the citizens in a referendum. I think that it is not quite true that if we adopt a constitution, which the present constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation allows us to do, we will somehow predetermine what will follow next, or that we want to determine in some way what the answer in the referendum should be. The Constitution is fully legitimate in the current constitutional conditions. Of course, the question is what its content will be. Therefore, our party came up with a special constitutional bill on the way of adopting the Slovak constitution and the arrangement of Czechoslovak relations that would tackle the relation of the Slovak constitution to the current constitutional system and that would deal with the issue of continuity and sovereignty of the Slovak Republic. We will see how the political partners and the Slovak National Council deputies will react to this.

[Secansky] Sovereignty, constitution, and a referendum on constitutional setup. A different thing would be if both parties agreed on a certain form of federation, in which case there would be no need for a referendum since the federation exists. If there should be a confederation, and I am leaving out the possibility of a split, a referendum would take place in any case. [end recording]

You heard the views about a referendum. It remains to be seen whether they will be confirmed, changed, or refuted. The first constituent session of the Slovak National Council tomorrow might indicate something.

Havel Discusses State Setup With SDSS Group

AU2206132592 Prague CSTK in English 1752 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 17 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today met with representatives of the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS) headed by chairman Alexander Dubcek.

Dubcek told journalists after the meeting that the SDSS considers it most important now to constitute new federal bodies and start debating Czechoslovakia's future arrangement in parliament.

Dubcek said his party favours strong national (Czech and Slovak) Republics whose position must be in accord with Czechoslovak statehood.

Czechoslovak Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky said that the SDSS seeks to pass a bill by the Slovak parliament on the adoption of a new Slovak Constitution.

SDL Prepares Bill on Slovak Constitution

AU2206132692 Prague CSTK in English 1717 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 17 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today described a Slovak parliament bill on the adoption of a Slovak Constitution and on arranging Czech-Slovak relations as a sign of goodwill in the search to find a solution to the current stalemate on the Czechoslovak political scene.

In a meeting with a delegation of the Slovak Democratic Left Party (SDL), led by Chairman Peter Weiss, who informed Havel of the SDL-prepared bill, Havel said he doubts, however, that the bill is likely to pass in view of the differences of opinion between the SDL and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Weiss said the bill is aimed at giving a clear constitutional framework to further steps in searching for a suitable form of coexistence of the Czech and Slovak Republics. "The bill settles both the issue of sovereignty of the two republics and the question of an agreement between them", Weiss said. The passing of the bill could provide certain guarantees that constitutional norms will be respected until a definitive decision on the form of coexistence of the two republics is made, he added.

Weiss confirmed his party is in favour of Czechoslovakia being a loose cooperating federation. "While the HZDS expects the Czech and Slovak Republics to set up only several joint coordinating bodies, we are speaking of bodies of state administration that would have the attributes of administrative bodies of a common state", Weiss said.

Commenting to reporters on the current talks between the HZDS and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), Weiss said disputes between them should be transferred to parliamentary soil as soon as possible. "It is up to the republic and federal parliaments to decide whether a common state will be maintained", he said.

Weiss also said Sunday's [21 June] session of the SDL Republic Council will decide whether or not the SDL will support any of the presidential candidates.

Initial Accord on Slovak Parliament's Structure

AU2206203792 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jun 92 p 3

[TK SR report: "Decision on the Highest Post Is Still Open; 15-Member Slovak National Council Presidium With Three Deputy Chairmen Proposed"]

[Text] Bratislava— Milan Zemko, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council [SNR], met with representatives of political parties represented in the Slovak National Council in the 10th electoral period in Bratislava yesterday. The main issue on the agenda of the meeting was to determine the number of SNR deputy chairmen and other members of the Slovak parliament Presidium.

The talks were attended by O. Keltosova and I. Gasparovic on behalf of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], P. Weiss and L. Fogas on behalf of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], J. Brocka and M. Tahy on behalf of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], J. Prokes, M. Andel, and V. Miskovsky on behalf of the Slovak National Party [SNS], and P. Csaky and E. Bauerova on behalf of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles [MKDH-ES] coalition.

After the meeting, Milan Zemko said that the new SNR Presidium would have 15 members and that the Slovak parliament would have three deputy chairmen. A decision still remains to be made on whether there will be the post of a first deputy chairman. According to a preliminary agreement, the SNR Presidium should be established on the basis of proportional representation. Of its 15 members, seven will be from the HZDS, three from the SDL, two each from the SNS and KDH, and one from the MKDH-ES coalition. The issue of the three deputy chairmen and their party affiliation will be discussed at the next meeting, to be held in Bratislava on 18 June. The SNR Presidium will consist, in addition to the SNR chairman and three SNR deputy chairmen, of 10 chairmen of individual SNR committees and of one additional member who will not be chairman of any committee.

Ivan Gasparovic, whom the HZDS authorized to hold talks on the structure of the newly elected Slovak parliament, neither confirmed nor denied the information that he has been nominated as candidate for SNR chairman. In an interview for TK SR he said, among other things, that he would push for representatives of the HZDS, SDL, and SNS to fill the post of three SNR deputy chairmen.

Lubomir Fogas stressed that all figures that have been cited are only preliminary. They must still be discussed by the political bodies of the parties that attended the talks. The meeting on Thursday [18 June] should give a more concrete shape to them. He said that the SDL advocated a 21-member SNR Presidium with five deputy chairmen representing all parliamentary parties. It backed away from its proposal and agrees with three deputy chairmen in a 15-member or a 19-member SNR Presidium.

Spokesman Denies Havel Role in Meciar Dismissal

LD2206144392 Prague CSTK in English 1220 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 22 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky today described as absurd statements according to which the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar from the post of Slovak Premier on April 23, 1991 had been prepared at Prague Castle (the seat of the president).

At a regular briefing here, Zantovsky reacted to a statement of Slovak publicist Dusan Slobodnik on Czechoslovak television yesterday. According to Slobodnik, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel allegedly said prior to Meciar's recall that "the situation in Slovakia will be resolved within a fortnight".

Zantovsky explained that Havel's words of March 17, 1991 on Czechoslovak television that "the situation will calm down in Slovakia in a fortnight" concerned the situation following a demonstration in Bratislava held to mark the 52nd anniversary of the foundation of the independent pro-Nazi Slovak state (1939-45).

Zantovsky denied statements that Havel visited the Slovak capital of Bratislava only when Meciar was not there. "The dates of the president's trips to Slovakia had nothing in common with the presence or absence of Mr Meciar in Bratislava", he stressed.

ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar are expected to inform Havel of the definitive outcome of their coalition talks Tuesday night, Zantovsky told journalists.

He added that tomorrow Havel will meet with members of the outgoing Federal Government to express gratitude for their work.

Zantovsky said Havel considers a referendum on Czecho-Slovakia's future state setup the most democratic way of deciding the country's future shape. If there is another constitutional way how to do so, the president will respect it, he said.

Czech Press Considers Chances of Common State

AU2206132892 Prague CSTK in English 0812 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 17 (CSTK)—All Czech dailies today focus on the question of further existence of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

Under the title "Who Rides the Tiger," the daily LIDOVE NOVINY warns that there is no guarantee that problems existing and discussed in post-communist Czechoslovakia will be kept within the original framework. "It is far more probable that in a sharpened situation it will be necessary to realize threats which originally were only to serve asserting the chief aim," the daily says.

The same paper comments on the support for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and its Chairman Vaclav Klaus in talks with the Slovak side as promised by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) "in the euphoria of last week," and recalls yesterday's partial backing away from this support by CSSD Chairman Jiri Horak and his meeting with the leader of the extremist Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC). It writes that it could have been expected that the CSSD will soon leave the group of right-wing parties, and that "its insistence on the common state even at the cost of compromises and protractions can give this party nothing but a markedly left or possibly extremely right orientation."

Commenting on the same problem, MLADA FRONTA DNES sees the support promised to Klaus by the CSSD and the Liberal Social Union (LSU) merely as a left-wing vagary. The two parties' demand that the ODS and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) should center on the formation of a new Federal Government and leave the future of the federation to be decided by federal bodies denies the basic problem which is the dilemma whether we proceed towards freedom and prosperity or towards economic and political chaos. "It is the latter variant to which we could be very quickly brought closer by an internal split of the Czech political scene," the daily says.

In another article, MLADA FRONTA DNES sees a great part of the Czechoslovak public inclined towards oversimplified conclusions. The Czechs view the ODS-HZDS talks as a dispute between the democratic right and the populist left, the Slovaks as a dispute between the haughty Czech chauvinism and legitimate effort for emancipation, the paper says.

Commenting on HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar's ambiguous statements concerning Slovakia's independence within a common state of Czechs and Slovaks or a referendum called only after Slovakia's independence is declared, LIDOVE NOVINY writes that they may be due either to Meciar's fear of responsibility resulting from one hundred-percent independence or to the fact

that he is not quite sure whether unambiguously expressed independence would gain support of a majority of Slovaks.

In an interview carried by RUDE PRAVO, Meciar allows for a compromise to be reached in his talks with Klaus in that the functioning of all federal bodies will be restored and a political program of the government to be pursued until a referendum is called on Slovakia's independence will be created.

Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), says in TELEGRAF that the Left Bloc (coalition of the KSCM and the Democratic Left) was not invited to consultations with the ODS "which means that the ODS does seek the principle of political and social agreement but turns matter-of-fact problems into ideological ones."

ODS Deputy Chairman Miroslav Macek in CESKY DENIK characterizes Czechoslovakia as a federation that has been continuously breaking up since November 1989 (the fall of communist regime). "In fact this is no federation any more, this is a very loose federation with confederative elements," Macek says.

The same paper claims that the HZDS steps to date prove its premeditated progress towards power in the spirit of Marxist textbooks. It says it hopes Klaus will not exchange the temporary consensus with the left for a future rift in the hard days of constituting a Czech state.

Commenting on Meciar's demand for a "rotating president," PROSTOR recalls that a similar system has lately been tried in only one country—Yugoslavia."

Tkac on Independent Slovakia's Economy

AU1906095092 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jun 92 p 9

[Interview with Marian Tkac, Slovak Republic deputy finance minister, by Marcela Zabojnikova; place and date not given: "The Time Has Ripened for Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] The Slovak emancipation process applies not only to the political sphere, but also to the economic sphere. Engineer Marian Tkac, Slovak deputy finance minister, is one of the firmest advocates of Slovakia's sovereignty. He granted us an interview. [passage omitted].

[Zabojnikova] Could you be specific about the first steps to be taken if Slovakia's sovereignty is declared de jure? Is Slovakia prepared for such a large transformation?

[Tkac] Yes, there is a list of the first nine steps to take. I will outline them. The first step would to be establish institutions that do not exist today: The bank of issue—which would only be established and would not operate for the time being—and the central customs administration. Some existing entities, such as the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Trade, and others, would have to assume more powers. Another step would be to pass a law stating that all the entrepreneurs operating in Slovakia must be registered here for tax purposes. This means, for example, that a firm registered at a court in Prague, but having its branches in Slovakia, would have to register on this territory, so that taxes might be collected. Of course, this implies that the compilation of the state budget would change. All resources created on Slovakia's territory—and also in Bohemia, obviously—would flow into their budgets, from which the republics would contribute to pay for joint administration, which would probably remain here, but to a smaller extent. We would also immediately adopt measures regarding the introduction of promissory notes in order to solve the secondary indebtedness of enterprises, which represents some 50 billion korunas in Slovakia. We believe that promissory notes could help reduce secondary insolvency to a great extent.

We would change the character of economic policy. We would probably put, let us say, 10 billion investment [investicni] korunas into circulation. At this moment, we would begin to quickly construct the east-west and the north-south highways. Construction workers would start working, and the results would become visible soon. Moreover, we would pass a law on stimulating investment activity, which is also linked to the change in the economic policy. The Slovak Assembly passed such a law in 1940, and noticeable results were achieved on its basis. This is what not only Slovak, but also numerous foreign experts are saying. The law on stimulating investment activity would mean that we would allow those who would create job opportunities in the areas with high unemployment—let us say, over 10 percent—not to pay taxes for a certain period of time. According to the law, the state would also provide compensation, for example, 50 percent of the interest costs, to those who would have created such jobs. Cities and communities would be obliged to provide land in their possession to such investors who are creating job opportunities. These are only a few examples. As you can see, I have not at all said that we would need to frank the koruna bills. We believe that we will not have to frank them at all.

[Zabojnikova] You have not answered the second part of my question: Is Slovakia ready for it?

[Tkac] I will answer you in a slightly general way. It is possible to prove numerically that Slovakia produces 25 percent more resources than reported. Taxes are paid according to where the enterprise is based. Federal enterprises are based in the Czech Republic and taxes are collected on the profit made in the other republic, too, and on employees who are residing in the other part of the republic and draw on resources there. Slovakia is also entitled to the part of customs fees that are collected on imports to Slovak enterprises—which is some 36 percent of imports. This sum, appearing on the Czech Republic's account, is then only "returned to Slovakia," and not granted to it—or it may serve to cover federal needs, as the case may be. In 1992, more than 39 billion korunas profit is being created—and not reported—in the Slovak Republic, of which 21 billion korunas Slovakia receives

to cover its own needs from the federation (unemployment, heat, restructuring), and 18 billion korunas represents a "contribution" to the benefits of the common state. So, at present, Slovakia waives a part of its resources and then it waits, whether or not it will get them back, and for what. Just this year, it receives 400 korunas less per capita then the Czech Republic. So, the situation is completely the other way around. Now, we have less money per capita, and in case of our sovereignty, we would save our contribution to the common state.

We all know well that the economy is closely linked to politics—external and domestic. The transit gas pipelines alone produced 16 billion korunas profit last year. About two-thirds of this sum was created in Slovakia, according to performance in individual republics. A total of 9 billion korunas was fed into the state budget from the Czech Republic's territory, while 6 billion of this was created in Slovakia. Since the accounting system shows a greater sum redistributed to Slovakia than produced there, we have here, all of a sudden, the well known statement on footing the bill for Slovakia. Besides this, we have here the Cesmad, Cechofracht, Tuzex, Cedok—all these firms are based in the Czech Republic and they pretend that they produce Czech profit. In reality, however, one-quarter of the foreign trade enterprises' exports comes from Slovakia, that is, 25 percent of their profit is made here. Moreover, I am being silent about price deformations, which were here and which still persist to a certain degree.

The conclusion is: Slovakia is creating resources that will not be reported as its own, as long as Slovakia is not independent. Here is my answer to your question. Yes, Slovakia has the means for independence and is prepared for it.

We know that the economy is linked to politics. We have spoken about its links to domestic policy. What about the foreign policy? The third world war—the Cold War—has ended. New international relations are established after every world war. People in Slovakia believe that if its position does not improve now—and incidentally the president is saying this—and if Slovakia does not get out from under Bohemia's shadow right now, then Slovakia will not make it until the next world war. Since we all believe that there will be no such war, Slovakia would lose its chance.

Walesa Views Pawlak's Government, Reforms

LD2206172992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by correspondent Marek Wilhelmi on 22 June; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Wilhelmi] Mr. President, how good is the chance for Prime Minister Pawlak's government?

[Walesa] There is a 99 percent chance for Pawlak's government, as Poland needs such a government. During these two years we have tried many possibilities. We have some experience, and in this divided parliament, which has to carry on working as Poland cannot afford elections in these conditions, one has to strive for a government which will be above party politics, a government of people who are capable of working, people who will stop political struggle and get down to work and do what the public expects. That means agriculture, unemployment, clearing enterprises of debts, and privatization—all these things have to be done immediately and the struggle should end. The president is striving for such a government.

[Wilhelmi] You give good chances to Prime Minister Pawlak's government. But what happens if it does not succeed in spite of it all?

[Walesa] The president succeeds in principle, and I think he will succeed here as well because today's coalition division and what we experienced with the previous government tells us that this is the best and only chance to regain our position in Europe and in reforms—only through hard work by the government.

[Wilhelmi] You talked about people of struggle and people of reform, but I think that first of all there are people of struggle in parliament.

[Walesa] This is good. I would like parliament to be a scene of struggle for the best solutions and that these best solutions would be passed over to a government for implementation, that the struggle would not take place within the government. So, let the parliament argue, let it suggest solutions, and let a government implement them to the letter.

[Wilhelmi] But Mr. President, the struggle looks as it looks and not a great deal has come out of it.

[Walesa] Not a great deal, indeed. I understand this struggle. I understand that it is a stage of heroic struggle for a different political system, that those most brave in the struggle have done a hard job and sacrificed a lot. But today the time has come for solutions. As I have said many times, racehorses are not suitable for hard work, while draft horses cannot race. The same goes for people. We have to understand it at last. One has to give medals. One has to find a place for them where they will feel well and not where there is a struggle without solutions. The struggle for principles, for direction of development, and for political system is over. We have to square accounts and we will, but after solving the main problems our country is facing.

[Wilhelmi] You said yourself that people of reforms are somewhere on one side, somewhere at the back, and that they are not involved as much as people who fight. How are we supposed to find them? How should we encourage them? How should we involve them?

[Walesa] I said it in a clumsy way. I meant something else. I meant that those who fight are noisy; they look out for enemies and if there are none, then they invent them. People who are professionally prepared, however, do not have to fight, because they are really capable of doing things. They do not fight politically, do not look out for enemies, and that means that we do not see them. But already in these three governments we have trained a few people and we can make them into those who know something and can solve problems. [sentence as heard] We cannot afford novelties and experiments.

[Wilhelmi] But as the result of these three governments, as the result of the parliament, one can say that this political elite has been quite deeply divided also on an emotional level, on a personal level. Do you think that some consensus can be reached?

[Walesa] It is possible in the concept I am suggesting, because no one will question professionalism and abilities of people who are prepared. One would not have any arguments. One may find them in that someone was not fighting, someone was quiet and calm. But those are not arguments that are winning in this concept.

[Wilhelmi] Well, these people will be shouted down by those who are aggressive, noisy, loud—people (?in action).

[Walesa] Yes, there is a lot of shouting in the Warsaw elite. There are cries but problems are not being solved. I think that what is happening in Poland will encourage us to work; and really, there is enough of those battle scenes and lack of solutions to problems in the country, in Poland. Society will urge us to work. I am convinced that the nation wants us to solve problems finally and not to argue. The discussions, even political ones, are necessary but they cannot overshadow the problems facing the state. That is why I am convinced that it is the only way, and no one will undermine the professionalism of the people who will be tasked with carrying out concrete work.

[Wilhelmi] You are right. The concrete matter is the economic program. The situation is very unclear here. The opinions are in conflict within the possible coalition and I think it is a conflict which cannot be reconciled.

[Walesa] Yes and no. The direction of reforms and what the world has invented in economics—we will not bring much into it if we only follow the direction which has been followed before in the world and nothing else. Of

course, one may argue as to the ways, including privatization, as wide as possible; assistance to the enterprises which increase hopes and have orders but are in trouble; stopping the circle of debts, of one enterprise owing to another; giving the chances to those that ought to have them; helping housing and agriculture by credits and by banking. These are not difficult matters. I have noticed, while being president for 18 months, that we exaggerate, we discuss, and this is the time for solutions. These principles are already chosen.

[Wilhelmi] But all this only intensifies a populist mood of demands, which take no account of possibilities?

[Walesa] Yes, that is right. Here is why: People who are not professionals, politicians discuss concrete things. If we specifically ask the professionals, irrespective of their views, then they speak unequivocally about possibilities and necessities. The politicians who do not have knowledge about it all, who fight, well, they call it all demagogy.

[Wilhelmi] Mr. President, do we have a chance?

[Walesa] The chance is greater than ever and I am convinced that this chance will win because it must win. Such is the need of the moment, and society demands efficiency. And I am president to take notice of that and to implement it.

Mazowiecki Sees Economic Situation Stabilizing

LD2206183492 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Brussels, June 22—Democratic Union (UD) leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki said Monday that political situation in Poland, difficult as it is, does not directly affect the economic situation of the country.

Speaking at a news conference in Brussels the former prime minister of Poland's first Solidarity government claimed that the economic situation in Poland shows symptoms of stabilization. Mazowiecki is attending a conference on "l'Europe des Peuples" organized here by the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation in cooperation with the European Communities (EC) Commission.

Mazowiecki urged the EC member countries not to hesitate and invest in Poland already now, without waiting for the completion of the process of Poland's adjustment to the standards prevailing in the communities.

Asked about prospects for the creation of a new government in Poland, Mazowiecki said his party, which is taking part in the coalition negotiations, is of the opinion that this should be a majority government. "I think that the situation in which such a government can be created will clarify in the nearest week," Mazowiecki predicted.

The Polish Robert Schuman Foundation chaired by Mazowiecki is to "contribute to bringing (peoples of) Europe closer together," the Polish politician said.

Further on Reaction to Conflict in Moldova

Iliescu Calls Yeltsin, Snegur

AU2206194692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] A few minutes ago we received the following note from the Press Bureau of the Presidency:

President Ion Iliescu held telephone conversations tonight with Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Mircea Snegur about the serious situation in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova.

As a result of these talks, it was agreed that the presidents of Moldova and of the Russian Federative Republic should give orders for an immediate cease-fire. Likewise, it was decided that as far as fundamental problems of the conflict and finding peaceful solutions to the problems are concerned, talks will be held between the presidents of Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania on the occasion of meetings that are going to take place in Istanbul in coming days.

Sees 'Ray of Hope'

AU2306140392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu on the latest developments in the Republic of Moldova—recorded]

[Text] If at the Supreme Defense Council meeting yesterday afternoon I was concerned about the development of events in Tighina [Bender] and along the Dniester River—events that took a dramatic turn for the worse in terms of the material and human losses registered and in the wake of statements by Vice President Rutskoy and President Yeltsin—I am more optimistic today following last night's telephone conversations with President Snegur and President Yeltsin. We reached an initial understanding and I found them receptive to the proposal I made. After these discussions, both Presidents Yeltsin and Snegur issued orders for an end to the hostilities. It appears that the shooting has ceased and, according to initial reports from both sides, these measures are being observed.

Of course, this does not amount to a solution. The tension persists. Presidents Yeltsin, Snegur and I agreed to organize a meeting of the four presidents in Istanbul, that is, the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania, and to try to jointly stimulate the common course agreed upon a few days ago and which signaled the beginning of a political framework for broaching and solving the problems. Therefore, we actually should begin the activity of the joint commission of the four countries and find an acceptable framework for the withdrawal of the 14th Army, which, as events have shown, represents an ongoing catalyst for such conflicts. A ray of hope has arisen from this first measure taken last night. This should give us the necessary trust and hope that we will find a certain common language in tackling this issue jointly in a responsible way, because the road of military conflict cannot be of help to anyone.

Defense Council Discusses Events

AU2206192992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] We have received the following communique:

The extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense was held on 22 June 1992, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania. During the meeting the evolution of events in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova was examined.

The Romanian president briefed the Council on the content of the telephone conversations he had held with Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova. The Council expressed concern about the latest declarations made by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy regarding Russia's possible military intervention in the conflict in the Republic of Moldova and about the ultimatum issued by the commander of the 14th Army to the political leadership of the Republic of Moldova, an act that is incompatible with the norms of international law. As a matter of fact, the direct involvement of certain units of the 14th Army was noted in the recent bloody events in the city of Tighina. This fact also brought about the withdrawal of military observers of the four countries which were in this city.

Evaluating the implications of the situation that has been created in the recent days in the eastern region of the Republic of Moldova, the Council adopted certain decisions regarding the required measures and also considered that the Government of Romania should intensify the political and diplomatic efforts to support the act of finding peaceful solutions to the conflict.

FSN Condemns Russia's 'Aggression'

AU2206173992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1540 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/6/1992—In a statement the National Salvation Front [FSN] sent to ROMPRES for publication, it firmly condemns Russia's armed aggression against the Republic of Moldova and requests Romania's president to directly call on Russia's president for the 14th Army's immediate withdrawal to barracks so as to guarantee its neutrality till its evacuation from Moldova's territory, in view of a negotiated settlement of the situation in Transdniestria. Likewise it requests Romania's Parliament to condemn Russia's aggression on the Republic of Moldova, declare null and void the treaty Romania's president signed with ex-President Gorbachev, and call on Russia's parliament to interfere in stopping armed aggression on other states that are former members of the USSR.

The National Salvation Front also requests the Romanian Government to urgently bring Russia's aggression

on the Republic of Moldova to the UN Security Council's and CSCE's debate so as to make Russia accept negotiations on finding out a political solution.

Public Protests Reported

AU2306134992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1307 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/6/1992—Following the aggravation of the Russian armed aggression against the Republic of Moldova, numerous Romanian institutions, political and social organizations reacted by expressing their protest against this undeclared but genuine war. Here are some of the public protests broadcast until now.

"These days, when the whole of the Romanian Church rejoices over the canonization of several of new Romanian saints, the holy land of our country breeds yet other faithful and martyrs who bleed innocent Romanian blood" reads a communique of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

"In this grave situation the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church together with the clergy and the whole of the Romanian people raise their voices to appeal for a quick cease of the bloodshed and for the withdrawal of the Russian 14th Army from the holy land of Bessarabia."

In a communique sent to the Embassy of Russia to Bucharest the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union shows that the 14th Army's intervention in the Transdniestrian conflict has grave consequences over peace and stability in the area and expresses its disagreement with such "irresponsible and destabilising actions."

"/.../ the brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Moldova—reads the communique—runs counter to the responsibility the Russian Federation assumed to observe the independence and sovereignty of the states that broke away from the former Soviet Union."

"The National Liberal Party condemns the brutal and criminal intervention of the 14th Army in the Transdniestrian area of the Republic of Moldova and in settlements right of the Dniester. In solidarity with the Romanians in Moldova, who fight to defend their country from the Russian 14th Army's aggression, we call for all the aggressor Armed Forces to leave the territory of the Republic of Moldova" reads a communique of the National Liberal Party's Executive Bureau. The communique asks the United Nations Security Council and the Council of Europe to urgently take all the possible measures to stop the aggression and restore the lawful order in the Republic of Moldova.

Cluj Mayor on Problems With Hungarian Minorities

Explains Minority Privileges

AU2306093192 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 11 Jun 92 p 11

[Interview with Cluj Mayor Gheorghe Funar by reporter identified as "REA" in Cluj; date not given: "Gheorghe Funar's Particular Fears"]

[Text] Following his election as mayor of Kolozsvar [Cluj] on the ticket of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the political party of Vatra Romaneasca, Georghe Funar banned the use of the Hungarian language on posters and firms in the town. In order to eliminate all the obstacles hindering the implementation of this rule, he issued an order according to which only the State Posters Enterprise is allowed to stick bills in the town. (This enterprise was set up by the mayor himself.)

He also banned the organization of a conference on local government authority by claiming that the participants would have called for Hungarian autonomy. A meeting of the Soros Foundation was allowed on the condition that some participants delegated by Funar himself can play the role of observers. Funar thought that the Soros Foundation believed in an "open society" and, therefore, it would also welcome the representatives of Vatra Romaneasca, the Avram Iancu Association, and the Lucian Blaga Foundation at the meeting. In order to be able to hold the meeting, the organizers accepted the aforementioned conditions, but this does not change the arbitrary and aggressive character of these conditions.

We recently paid a visit to Gheorghe Funar in his office.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In connection with the Hungarian schools in Romanian, you recently told the Bucharest opposition newspaper "22" that there are no Hungarian schools and every school is Romanian. Please, give us some details.

[Funar] As you know, the national minorities have extensive rights in our town. I would like to point out that some people mistakenly state that there are Hungarian schools in Kolozsvar. There are only Romanian schools here. These schools are the property of the Romanian state and, therefore, they are Romanian schools. However, there are classes in these schools in which the lessons are taught in the language of the minorities.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In the aforementioned interview for "22" you said that the Hungarians had privileges here. What did you mean?

[Funar] The Hungarians enjoy various privileges here. By this we mean that they have more rights than the majority population. (Namely the Romanians.) Until quite recently, the Hungarians had the right to advertise their activities on bilingual posters or only in Hungarian in this town. Other minorities living in this town did not require this and they did not do it. Then there is the example of the headquarters of political and nonpolitical organizations in this town. In this respect, the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ,—UDMR in Romanian] has an advantage. This party has its headquarters in a building on which the party does not have a contract and, thus, it is occupying that building illegally. In addition, the RMDSZ has many more rooms there than the other political organizations, including the PUNR. Although we are a governing party in this county and this town, we

only have three rooms. The RMDSZ has seven. The National Salvation Front [FSN] has even more. There are other privileges too: In the area of education, for example, Romanian students study in four shifts in most schools in Romania, while the Hungarian children study in one shift. This is also a privilege. Another example is that of the Hungarian Youth Organization [MADISZ], which has a four-room, 182-square meter office, with only four employees. That means 45 square meters per employee, while other organizations do not have any place at all.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] We understand that you want to abolish two high schools in Kolozsvar, and you justify this by a shortage of classes. Would these be Hungarian high-schools?

[Funaru] I already told you that there are no Hungarian high schools here. These are Romanian high schools, and there is not a single school in our town in which classes are held only in Hungarian. There are educational institutions where the number of Hungarian classes are bigger than that of the Romanian classes. However, we must consider the fact that, from this fall, the physics and law students will not have a building, because the original owners of those buildings are demanding their property back. For lack of time and financial possibilities, we will be forced to place these departments in other buildings. That does not mean that we will eliminate schools in which there are Hungarian classes too. The three high schools will remain, but we do not yet know the future composition of the classes there.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In your opinion, why is it impossible to renew the Hungarian General Consulate in Kolozsvar?

[Funaru] There is no sense whatsoever in opening such a consulate; as you know, Romania is the most democratic country in Europe, its borders are open, and anyone can come here any time he wants. The Romanian-Hungarian border is open, the citizens do not need a visa. Our economic relations are developing well in the framework of turning into a market economy even without a consulate. Life proves that there is no justification for such a consulate. As it transpired in the previous regime, the Hungarian Consulate was nothing but an intelligence agency.

Hungarians Want Mayor Removed

LD2206223692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] In Bucharest, President Iliescu met the leaders of the Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz], who are asking him to suspend from his office the mayor of Cluj [Kolozsvar]. Tibor Bodgan reports:

[Bogdan] A 40-minute talk about anti-Hungarian measures is how we could summarize the meeting of Ion Iliescu and four politicians of the RMDSz, Deputy Chairman Geza Szoecs, Senate Secretary (Attila Vereskoi), Peter Buchwald, chairman of the county Cluj [Kolozs] organization, and Cluj Member of Parliament Sandor Balazs.

The RMDSz is protesting the unconstitutional measures in complete disregard of the law taken by Cluj Mayor Gheorghe Funar, a member of the extreme nationalist Romanian National Unity Party.

Peter Buchwald told Radio Kossuth that they explained they are asking for on-site investigations by a parliamentary committee and the suspension of the mayor. The latters decisions have sharpened ethnic hostilities in the town on the shores of the Szamos, which had been an island of peace and tranquility. Since he took office, a virtual military offensive has begun against the Hungarian population. This can have two serious consequences. On the one hand the declaration of the Hungarians as a group of traitors could serve as incitement to the rest of the Romanian population, and on the other hand steps taken against the Hungarians could provoke this minority. The members of the delegation warned Iliescu that new forces outside the RMDSz could emerge which would not be in favor of negotiated solutions. In reply Iliescu condemned the extremism and the outbursts of anger. As examples he referred to Laszlo Toekes and Geza Szoecs. The deputy chairman of the RMDSz categorically stated that he has never been in favor of exaggeration but simply expressed his political opinion. The Romanian head of state promised that he will instruct the government and the ministries concerned, especially the Education Ministry, to investigate the situation and make the appropriate decisions.

Iliescu Comments on Election, Earth Summit Issues

AU1906183292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/6/1992—In a statement he made at the beginning of a news conference at Cotroceni Palace in the morning of June 19, President Ion Iliescu reiterated his satisfaction at parliament's decision to set the date of general and presidential elections as he considers it a positive result of the interview he had had with party and parliamentary groups leaders. He said a constructive spirit and political maturity should be desirable to be shown during the election campaign by all the forces involved. He also thinks the forthcoming election campaign should be illustrative of the confrontation of opinions, of arguments and solutions to the crisis Romanian society is going through, of the promotion of viable strategies, all while avoiding physical violence, aggressive language, the use of blackmail against political adversaries. The press plays a major role in ensuring a decent election campaign, he underlined.

Then the president read an account of the international earth summit in Rio de Janeiro. Owing to the large number of participating countries, the high level of states' representation and the topics approached, the

meeting in Brazil's capital has a special significance both on a political and, especially, on an economic plane, assessed Romania's president.

At his news conference on June 19, Romania's President Ion Iliescu assessed that the agenda adopted by the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro was an extensive programme of actions for development in the long run, in the perspective of the 21st Century. In his opinion it is the most comprehensive and most important programme ever endorsed by the international community, which provides for transition from the present development concept based on an irrational use of resources and disconsideration of the impact of development processes on the environment to a new concept which takes account of socioeconomic development through a better quality of life integrating environment balance into development strategy.

President Iliescu thinks certain conclusions are of concern to Romania as well like the adjustment of the national legislation to the general norms recommended on a world plane, measures for environmental protection and rational management of resources, elimination of pollutants and promotion of non-polluting technologies.

Answering a question, Romania's president—during his Friday, June 19 news conference—qualified as "an aberrant scenario" the idea of a military dictatorship following the postponement for autumn of the general elections previously scheduled for July 26.

Such a danger was referred to by former minister of economy and finances in the Roman Government, Eugen Dijmarescu, he himself one of the National Salvation Front leaders. Neither the president of the National Salvation Front, Petre Roman, nor other political personalities agreed to such an opinion.

"If I am now president of Romania, I am because of my sense of responsibility," Ion Iliescu stated answering a question referring to certain "mistakes" he was accused of by some political parties. In connection with the "blunders" he allegedly made, the president spoke about "some forces' tendencies to gain political capital." Divergent opinions should be doubled by a civilized behaviour, he opined.

Ion Iliescu also showed that his meeting with the Jiu Valley miners' leader, Miron Cosma, during the September 1991 events should be understood as "absolutely necessary" because they had the tendency to get out of control.

President Iliescu pleaded for the rejection of any nationalist extremist manifestations. In connection with certain decisions taken by Cluj-Napoca mayor (belonging to the Romanian National Unity Party), he appreciated that some of them were excessive while others had a real motivation and he invited that party to a dialogue with the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, considering that as the only way to settle the situation which tends to change into a conflict. Both sides' excesses should be stopped as well as the dissension elements sown by foreign circles, the president showed, opining that they appear in crisis periods but might be avoided by understanding.

"Such an event has a favourable impact upon the general international situation, including in the European region where Romania is," Ion Iliescu stated at the news conference held at the Cotroceni Palace on Friday, June 19 in connection with the understandings reached by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin.

Such contacts are welcome as well as the openness towards understanding and mutual respect, Romania's president added.

Stolojan Rules Out Running For Presidency

AU2206134092 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13-14 June 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Theodor Stolojan, Romanian prime minister, by Gilda Lazar; place and date not given: "I Have the Chance of Not Being Afraid of the Future]

[Lazar] Mr. Prime Minister, what factor could make you change your initial decision and run for Romania's presidency?

[Stolojan] Aside from the fact that at that time [when Stolojan announced that he would only head the cabinet until elections are held] everyone agreed with my decision, the most important cause that makes me refrain from running is that the people trusted me when I said I was not going to cling to power. That is a commitment I also uttered in Parliament. I am not going to go back on my word.

[Lazar] But meanwhile things have become different.

[Stolojan] Meanwhile I also realized that there is a whole lot of things which make me even more resolutely reject such suggestions. Namely that Romania's way toward market economy is leading through certain fixed points. One cannot go round them. If one avoids them, one will still have to return to them, because there is no other way to do it. Generally speaking, things tend to become more and more difficult, not more and more easy, especially in the medium run.

[Lazar] What solutions can you see?

[Stolojan] Each party has its platform, like "you would be better off with us, and so on, and so forth." People must realize that the persons who are holding power will be changed with others, political figures will come and go, but our problems—unfortunately—remain the same. Certain approaches could slacken the situation here and there or they could speed up finding certain solutions, but it will certainly not be easy to deal with the core of the problem. That needs time and sacrifice. But it has become dull to speak of sacrifices and speaking of them resembles a sacrifice itself. Problems ought to be solved in the simplest way, there is nothing you can do about that. Yet, the population seems to have the impression—

which has been artificially generated, rather unfortunately — that things are not going well because certain leaders do not know how to deal with those problems and they are making mistakes. Let us replace them with other leaders.

[Lazar] Your image is already that of a hard and stern daddy, with whom people would get angry, about whom they would grumble, but against whom they would never rise up.

[Stolojan] That is already one of the results of our democracy and of the progress we have made. Other leaders will come, and the population will have to learn. You want another huge rise in your salaries this year as well? All right, you will get it. But instead of having 80-percent inflation, we will have a rate of 150 percent. It took the Polish people nine years to realize that. I hope that within two or three years we will all be able to see that the race among salaries and prices is not leading anywhere. On the contrary, it should be kept under control. But people have to change in order to realize that. I can tell you that the moment you sit down in the prime minister's chair, that chair will teach you many things within a very short time: It will teach you that you do not have a large space to maneuver, but rather a limited one, and that you are always acting in the context of certain internal and foreign circumstances. Naturally, some people—poor souls—need more time to learn that.

[Lazar] Is there really no element at all that could make you change your decision?

[Stolojan] There is no such element, and it would not be advisable to make me change it, because, as I said, that lends the issue a dialectic character—I mean real dialectics, in the sense Hegel conceived it— that is, the dialectic of these times [as published]. What could possibly happen? Let us suppose there would be another situation similar to that last September [miners' rampage in Bucharest])—Heaven forbid, I knock on wood!—I mean a new government will be appointed and another madness will be committed—although I do not think such a thing could ever happen again—and then they will be looking once more for someone to act as premier for a while. That person should be someone who is trusted by all—at least to some extent— someone who can neither be influenced by the right, nor by the left or by center, someone who can ensure a kind of balance, the way I tried to, as a matter of fact. I have the chance of not being afraid of the future. I think I will not be unemployed, no matter what lies ahead of me.

[Lazar] But does the agitation of political life not attract you at all? It need not be now, maybe in four or eight years....

[Stolojan] I do not think so. You know, I am an expert in a field that is connected with the economy, as a whole. I might also have my dreams, like every Romanian.

[Lazar] Yes, but should your first concern not be that of the "well-being of the nation?"

[Stolojan] Of course it should, but have I not been sitting in this office for a year? You know what they do in the U.S.? They ask you: Have you done your military service? If you say yes and add to it that you have also worked in public administration, they say: This man has really gone to extremes for his homeland, he deserves our trust. Well, that is my case: I have done my military service and I have worked in public administration.

[Lazar] And now you think you deserve to be trusted?

[Stolojan] As I mentioned before, I had a dream over a long period of my life, and that dream is now very close to coming true, namely that I should be in a position to work with an international organization, in a field where I have accumulated much expertise and experience, and this latest experience of mine [as premier] will further assist me—not so much regarding the angles of economic problems, but rather those of understanding human relationships—to comprehend what it means when a prime minister is acting under pressure.

[Lazar] I cannot believe your failing to notice lately that very many people consider you to be the only possible contestant—with real winning chances—of Mr. Iliescu.

[Stolojan] Yes, I have, but here is another element that makes me hold back. Let us imagine, as a hypothesis, that I will run for office—it does not matter which one—so what am I supposed to do? I would have to try to demonstrate that the other person is no good, whereas I am very good, right? That is not my style. I cannot do anything like that, I am not interested in such a thing. I would never enter such a competition. At that time only certain circumstances made me accept the office of prime minister.

[Lazar] Those circumstances have changed.

[Stolojan] Currently there is also a crisis situation and that has to be dealt with by means of elections and nominations.

[Lazar] Whose nomination?

[Stolojan] The right people have to be found, and I think that they do exist.

[Lazar] P.S. And yet, during our talk I had the impression that Mr. Stolojan is not quite so determined as he claims to be.

Izetbegovic Urges Carrington To Postpone Talks

LD2306103492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, proposed to Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, to postpone the meeting with Milosevic and Tudjman scheduled for 25 June in Strasbourg. In a letter to Lord Carrington, Izetbegovic expressed his readiness to participate in the meeting, but at the same time he proposed that it be postponed until Sarajevo airport is opened "so that the UNPROFOR can secure the trip to the airport and a safe departure," BH Press reports.

Izetbegovic Insists on Military Solution First

LD2206091992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Paris, 22 June (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic told French radio that he would give priority to talks if, as he said, "we could achieve by talks what we want to achieve by military action."

Responding to a Radio France International question on what the talks could deal with, Izetbegovic said they can discuss withdrawal, the enemy's surrender, the return of weapons, and the return of banished populations to their homes.

"When these conditions are fulfilled," we can talk about a political solution in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said.

Izetbegovic also said that the agreement signed recently under the auspices of the UN "is an agreement of a restricted scope and it concerns only the city of Sarajevo."

"Our problem is Bosnia-Hercegovina. What has been done in Sarajevo does not solve the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A big part of Bosnia-Hercegovina is under occupation. It has to be liberated. We request French journalists to describe what is happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Terrible things are happening," Izetbegovic said.

Zagreb Reports on 'Chetnik Crime' in Sarajevo

LD2206161492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako]

[Excerpts] Here is another piece of information before our reporter from Sarajevo comes on the air: The aggressor's aircraft which left Banja Luka one hour ago have hit the Bosnia-Hercegovina medium-wave transmitter.

[Rako] Eight dead including three children and over 80 injured, also including a large number of children, along with five amputations carried out in the Sarajevo hospital—this is the outcome of yet another chetnik crime committed against the civilian population of Sarajevo.

In the period from 1100 to 1300, the very center of Sarajevo was the butt of the chetnik artillery. The heaviest casualties were outside the National Bank building on Marshal Tito Street, where citizens were lined up to take money out of the bank or were waiting for buses. [passage omitted]

There are dead and injured on Senoina, Radiceva, and Misirbina Streets.

As I am speaking projectiles are hitting the center of Sarajevo, Kosevo, Kosevsko Brdo, the railway station, and Velesici. Dobrinja and the Aerodrom suburb are being destroyed continuously from artillery weapons of various caliber. The Stari Grad is being pounded from an anti-aircraft gun. According to the latest report there are new deaths near the Dom Milicije [Militia Club House] and at Skenderija. [passage omitted]

In such an atmosphere lengthy talks were conducted in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency between President Alija Izetbegovic and General Mackenzie, the Sarajevo-based commander of the UNPROFOR fifth sector. Details of the talks are not available but it is known that the reason for the talks were sharp and negative assessments of the UNPROFOR activities in Sarajevo voiced by the territorial defense officers and the Ministry of Defense. It should be mentioned that ordinary people are also indignant at the UNPROFOR's taxi service for the terrorists and their excessive familiarity with and prolonged stays in the headquarters of the criminals. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina today placed on its agenda a legally-binding regulation severing all relations with Serbia and Montenegro. A debate on this will be resumed tomorrow.

Security Council Committee Preventing Aid

AU2006172392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] In the region of eastern Hercegovina and the Serbian Krajina from where the Yugoslav People's Army forces have been withdrawn, there are now only the people who are protecting their homes, while the Croatian side, with the help of military formations from Croatia and the Green Berets has been taking (?new) actions every day and thereby threatening the peace of the Serbian people. Here is Mijusko Tomic talking about this topic on the basis of facts learned from military sources:

[Begin Tomic recording] New forces are being being pulled all the time into the region of Dubrovnik, the areas in Hercegovina connected to that region, and into some parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thus, the Vukovar Brigade has recently arrived in the Dubrovnik region. The Croatian side is obviously preparing itself for offensive activities. A new offensive is also being prepared in the areas between Trebinje and Stolac and between Bugojno and Kupres toward Karlovac.

New soldiers are being mobilized into the Croatian Army in the regions of Daruvar and Pakrac and prepared for

offensive combat activities. Therefore, they are abusing [word indistinct] of the peace forces and coming closer to the front line of the Serbian Krajina fighters. On the western Slavonian front, the region of Novska, the front line has been pushed by more than 500 meters. Croatian storm troopers are preparing to attack Baranja and Vukovar.

We have also learned from military sources that the Security Council forces have (?denied) any link with the Serbian regions. Therefore, humanitarian activities that were meant to help the Serbian population to somehow survive the situation that they are now in have been interrupted and their future is very uncertain.

There is no humanitarian aid to [word indistinct] and ill, and that is contrary to obligations that UNPROFOR has taken on itself. Both air and road traffic has been interrupted and the people in hospitals in the regions populated mostly by the Serbian people, for instance in Bosanska Krajina and Banja Luka, are dying because there are no possibilities to bring in medicines and instruments, as well as chemical material needed for operations or the recovery of newborn babies. Because of this, 11 newborn babies have died in the Banja Luka hospital recently and one more baby died yesterday because incubators lacked oxygen and necessary medicines for survival.

UNPROFOR has taken measures to help sick people in Banja Luka to receive (?humanitarian aid), but nobody wants to take measures to ensure air traffic so that planes can transport medicines that have been waiting at (?airports) for days. Somebody else, however, has been mediating in all this for days and postponing the humanitarian aid. This other factor on which the transportation of the aid to sick people and children depends is the Security Council committee for monitoring the action, and it has been preventing all this.

No comment. Our people would say: Let that do them credit. [end recording]

MacKenzie Discusses Plans on Sarajevo Situation

AU2206162892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Telephone interview "exclusively for Belgrade Radio" with General Lewis MacKenzie in Sarajevo by Azra Nuhefendic in Belgrade; date not given—recorded; interview in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation; following taken from the Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] [Nuhefendic] Mr. MacKenzie, according to some information, UNPROFOR may proclaim general cease-fire in Sarajevo today, as of 1800 [1600 GMT]. Is that true?

[MacKenzie] No, that is not true. My proposal of several days ago when I demanded 48 hours of unbroken peace is still in force. Without that it is impossible for us to deploy people and civilian vehicles to supervise the artillery concentrated around the Sarajevo airport. Each time the cease-fire is violated we set our clocks again to go off after 48 hours. Unfortunately, the cease-fire was violated many times within the last two days and artillery and mortars were used. Therefore, we do not have a new proposal.

[Nuhefendic] What is the situation in Sarajevo like?

[MacKenzie] I have just come from the building of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina where I held talks with President Izetbegovic. At 1400, I hope to hold talks with representatives of the Serbian side at the airport.

While I was in the center of the city, there was some shooting. The two sides exchanged fire, there was some shelling, and, as I was told, several people were killed and a number wounded. However, I still have no confirmation about that. Generally speaking, the situation is calmer than during several past days, but that is still not a cease-fire, not even according to Sarajevo standards.

Considering the history of cease-fires here in Sarajevo, it is difficult to be optimistic. However, we should be optimistic, as we have not given up our task to open the Sarajevo airport, and I can say that the United Nations will not stop its efforts to reach agreement about opening the airport. We are ready, all my people are waiting to set off into action regarding the opening of the airport. I do not think that it is too much to ask for 48 hours of peace or at least of relative peace around Sarajevo to be able to start performing that task.

Serbian Command Urges End of Serb Mobilization

LD2206163192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The Main Headquarters of the Command of the Serbian Forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina today requested via UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] that the Sarajevo authorities stop the forced mobilization of Serbs, the SRNA (Bosnian) Serbian News Agency reports.

The agency says that the Muslim forces are using the compulsorily mobilized Serbs as a human shield. The command of the Serbian army is asking UNPROFOR to do everything to prevent the forced mobilization and stressed that the Serbian forces are not mobilizing Croats and Muslims.

The agency also reports that an appeal was sent to UNPROFOR to go and visit the central prison in Sarajevo and demand the release of those detained just because they are Serbs.

UNPROFOR is asked to check the state in which Serbs are held at the Viktor Bubanj barracks, the Kosevo stadium, and the Otoka settlement train station.

The Command of the Serbian Army protests over the cease-fire violations on the part of the Muslim forces around Sarajevo Airport and in Dobrinja and asked that these forces be moved away from the airport to allow it to be reopened.

The Serbian side sharply protested over a humanitarian aid consignment from Belgrade being prevented from reaching Banja Luka.

Government Claims Sanctions 'Not Sufficient'

LD2306085792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] In a statement addressing the latest attacks on Dubrovnik and massacres of civilians in Sarajevo, the Croatian Government has condemned these actions by the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and by Serbian-Montenegrin units in Dubrovnik. Members stated that these latest crimes provide tragic proof that the measures and sanctions taken by the world so far are not sufficient, pointing out that the ever-increasing aggression by Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina threatens peace and stability in all of southeastern Europe. The Croatian Government has called for decisive international military intervention.

Serbian Territorial Group Begins To Disarm

LD2206164392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Beli Manastir, June 22 (TANJUG)—The disarming of the local territorial defense units started in Baranja, a region in the eastern part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), on Monday [22 June] in keeping with the U.N. peace plan.

The disarming of the Baranja Territorial Defense is the second phase of the taking over of control in the region by the U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), the Baranja Territorial Defense Headquarters said on Thursday [18 June].

The Republic of Serbian Krajina comprises the parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which are predominantly populated by Serbs. It was proclaimed after Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia against the wishes of the Serbian population in the republic.

UNPROFOR will protect the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina until a political solution is found to the dispute between Croatia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Under the U.N. peace plan, all military and paramilitary formations, except the police, will be disarmed in the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the weapons will be stored and jointly guarded by UNPROFOR members and the local police.

The people of Baranja have confidence in the U.N. peace-keeping forces which will guard peace and the security of the population together with the police of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, but the local residents are still somewhat apprehensive because, as they set out, the danger of the infiltration of subversive-terrorist groups from Croatia is not over yet, the Baranja Territorial Defense Headquarters said.

Croatian forces are practically daily opening gun and artillery fire on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and trying to get terrorist groups in.

Charges Against HSP Leader Paraga Explained

92BA1071B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 92 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Charges Against Paraga"]

[Text] In the indictment presented to the Opstina Court in Zagreb, the opstina public prosecutor charges Dobroslav Paraga with having had knowledge of the decision by the minister of defense of 14 November 1991, under which it was clearly stipulated that only the president of the republic, as the commander in chief of the armed forces, is authorized to issue mobilization orders, while the preparation and execution of such activities are the responsibility of the Ministry of Defense. This means that citizens, associations, and parties may not call citizens into the armed forces.

By doing this on 21 May through a statement, and on 27 May through a public appeal and a special summons to members of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party], Paraga, through concrete actions, violated the Croatian Constitution and the laws governing this domain. The prosecutor also gives specific reasons for the proposal to hold Paraga in custody. The first reason is the punishment stipulated by law (five years imprisonment), and the second is the six-month interval between the promulgation of the precise legal decision and the obstinate disregard for the regulation by the accused, while the third is the "danger that the accused would repeat the same sort of criminal act if released."

At the main trial, the prosecutor, besides intending to ensure Paraga's presence, also intends to present the order issued by the Command of the Main Staff of the HOS [Croatian Defense Force—military wing of HSP] on 21 May and the Appeal by the Imotski branch of the HSP on 25 May. Among the other evidence is an article from VJESNIK with the headline "President of Republic Issues Mobilization Order," published on 15 November 1991, and the Law on Defense.

International

Delors Says EC Might Impose Further Sanctions

LD2206151192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1411 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Paris, June 22 (TANJUG)—President of the European Commission Jacques Delors said on Sunday [21 June] night that additional sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia might be imposed.

The European Community might decide to take such a step at an E.C summit in Lisbon next weekend, Delors told channel one of the French television.

He said Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and his government were the 'main culprits of the current situation in Yugoslavia.'

Sources of the French Foreign Ministry told TANJUG's correspondent on Monday the upcoming summit could vote for the full implementation of the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia, such as the sea blockade and some other measures.

On May 30, the U.N. Security Council imposed sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro, because of their involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Unlike Delors, France believes the 'blame for the war in Yugoslavia should be shared,' implying primarily Croatia. However, it still finds excuses for Croatia's involvement.

On Monday, the French Foreign Ministry shifted Croatia's share of the blame to the 'team' of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and reduced Croatia's participation in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina to only the Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina and forces of the HOS—the military wing of the pro-fascist Croatian Party of Rights.

U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus Ghali in his report confirmed that regular Croatian forces were also taking part in the war in the multi-national Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The French Foreign Ministry said the Lisbon Summit should not be expected to extend the sanctions also to Croatia and other participants in the war. It said Croatia could be sanctioned only if it intensified its engagement in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Croatian forces have practically occupied some parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Western Hercegovina, Northern Bosnia and part of Central Bosnia. In some parts, the Croatian dinar has also been introduced.

Economy To Collapse if Sanctions Exceed 3 Months

LD2206131492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—No demands have been made in the past 20 days for the revision or suspension of agreements on cooperation between firms from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and their foreign partners, TANJUG was told by the Federal Foreign Trade Secretariat.

Monday [22 June] is the deadline for all United Nations members to start applying the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia or inform the organization about possible difficulties in their implementation, under the Security Council's Resolution 757.

In the first four months of this year, 337 agreements on investments in the Yugoslav economy worth 527.6 million dollars were signed.

Most of the agreements were signed with U.S. partners, and a number of them with firms from Great Britain, Spain, Cyprus and Austria, Assistant Foreign Trade Secretary Mile Grujicic told TANJUG.

He added that no demands were made in the past 20 days to bar the branch offices of some 1,000 foreign firms from doing business with their partners in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Foreign goods purchased by Yugoslav firms before May 30, when the sanctions were introduced, reach Yugoslav borders now and then, but neighbouring countries often impede their transit to Yugoslavia, Grujicic said.

He maintains that the sanctions have already jeopardized the survival Yugoslavia's industry branches dependent on foreign raw materials.

President of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce Vera Kazic last week said that a part of Yugoslavia's economy would survive only for another three months, and that the entire economy would collapse if the sanctions lasted.

Commentator on Possible Armed Intervention by West

AU2206123592 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Interview with Miroslav Lazanski, POLITIKA military-political commentator, by Pristina Television editor Radomir Grujic in the television studio—live]

[Text] [Grujic] The guest of the Dnevnik newscast this evening is my colleague, Miroslav Lazanski, POLITIKA's military-political commentator. Good evening, colleague.

[Lazanski] Good evening.

[Grujic] Last week there was much conjecture in the world about a possible military intervention here in Yugoslavia.

[Lazanski] Yes, there has been much speculation, above all in the Western public. We have witnessed the latest maneuvers by the British, French, and Italian armies on the south coast of France, maneuvers that, according to some Western journalists and media, should serve as an prelude for a possible military option in the region of the Balkans. Of course, it has still not been precisely said where that option, that is, a possible military operation might take place.

It is also very interesting that 74 years after the Saloniki front, the French Army is taking part, participating in the Balkan region again, this time in a rather inglorious role. Namely, according to French agencies, AWACS-type aircraft, American aircraft with French crews, are carrying out a mission observing the airspace of the territories of the former Yugoslavia, that is of Yugoslavia. French agencies report that several such aircraft are flying above the Alps and others above the island of Corsica from where they control the air blockade of Yugoslavia. It is now really not clear how they can observe the complete territory of Yugoslavia from the space over Corsica, but what is involved here is more a case of psychological pressure on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

One could also say that the very interesting statement by U.S. President George Bush is also a part of military and political pressure, the statement in which he says that during the talks with President Yeltsin he gained the impression, that is, knowledge that Russia is not going to get involved in rescuing Serbs. This is a very interesting statement by the American President, one in which he is in fact acting as a Russian Government spokesman, because it is really strange for a U.S. president to be talking about what Russia thinks. It is also interesting that in this statement of his he does not speak about the regime or the people of that regime in Serbia, but about the whole of the Serbian people. However, if we bear in mind that this is an election year in the United States and that the U.S. President made another questionable [diskutabilan] statement a month ago about Serbia and Montenegro threatening the national security and the interests of the United States, then....

[Grujic] Which is absurd, of course.

[Lazanski] Yes, which is absurd, then we can also place this statement into one of the repertoires of the possible diplomatic cowboy conduct [diplomatska kaubojstina] on the part of U.S. presidents in election years.

In any case, this statement is indicative and is not directed at Belgrade alone, but probably at Moscow as well, because Russia is place in a very humiliating position in which the White House and the U.S. President in fact tell people what Moscow and Russia think.

[Grujic] In your opinion, is a military intervention in this new Yugoslavia at all possible?

[Lazanski] Theoretically and practically, anything is possible. However, I personally think that a military option on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is out of question until a new U.S. president is elected. What has been happening on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina is something completely different. I personally think that this game about Sarajevo airport, the delay with UNPROFOR about whether the airport will be opened or not, and the things done by Alija Izetbegovic's government with regard to the proclamation of the state of war, and particularly dragging out....

[Grujic, interrupting] What about this alliance between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Lazanski] Yes, this is also interesting. However, this is nothing special. This is only an announcement in the form of a declaration of what already exists in practice. However, Sarajevo Airport could be a very sensitive issue, considering that the United Nations and major powers, above all the United States and the EC, insist on the opening of the airport. It appears that the opening of the airport does not suit Alija Izetbegovic at present, because he is trying to provoke the opening of the airport by force, by the military. However, as U.S. General John Galvin, current—or to be more precise, outgoing—commander of NATO, said, the opening of Sarajevo Airport would require 25,000 troops, and this would not be a very easy or quick military action. So, I think that a military threat to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is more of a declarative nature at present, and is more in the sphere of propaganda and psychological pressure.

[Grujic] Colleague Lazanski, I must ask you something else. Here in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija], some people, and we know who they are, want military intervention, while the others, even though they are living on a powder keg, are not afraid of military intervention. What is the situation in Belgrade like?

[Lazanski] In Belgrade? It depends on the strata of the Belgrade population. I can see that bars are full, I can see that buses and trolleys are operating, discos are full, and people are having a good time. I think that in essence, looking at the external manifestation, people perhaps look a little bit anxious, but that some great...

[Grujic, interrupting] They are not afraid.

[Lazanski] Yes. Everything is still functioning. We have had good weather. True we had some rain, but young people are still walking the streets. I think that even foreign journalists, above all journalists from the West, are shocked in a way. They thought that with the introduction of the blockade life would simply die out. However, life goes on. True, people are aware of the problems and that the blockade is not something simple, nor is it something that should be underestimated, but I think that the nation has not become discouraged yet.

[Grujic] Colleague Lazanski, thank you for taking part in our program.

[Lazanski] Thank you.

Soviet Radioactive Waste Dumps Stored in Yugoslavia

92P20319A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
12 Jun 92 p 24

[Unattributed article: "Soviet Radioactive Waste Dumps on Territory of the Former SFRY"]

[Text] Split, 12 June—NEDJELJNJA DALMACIJA reports that the Yugoslav Army stored at least 13 tonnes of radioactive material, generated by the production of atomic bombs in the former Soviet Union, on the territory of Banija, near Dvor Na Uni. The then SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Soviet defense ministers, Ljubicic and Ustinov, agreed that the Soviet Union would sell Yugoslav Army arms and equipment at low prices, and in return the Yugoslav Army would take care of radioactive waste from the Soviet Union. In 1979, radioactive waste was first brought through Romania to Yugoslavia. At first it was stored in the Boris Kidric Institute in Vinca, from where it was transported to Banija. According to NEDJELJNJA DALMACIJA, radioactive waste from the Soviet Union is also stored in Glina, in the Aleksinac mines, and in Plitvice.

Serbia

Foreign Minister Expects New UN Conditions

LD2206181692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1646 GMT 22 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Monday [22 June] Serbia had already met all the demands from the U.S. [as received] Security Council resolution, except for the cessation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which Serbia did not wage and on which it could not influence.

"We were unable to influence" the developments in Sarajevo as this is a "religious and civil war," Jovanovic said in an interview to the Belgrade weekly STUDENT.

"We can have only sympathies for the struggle of the Serb people," Jovanovic added.

He said he did not believe the U.N. sanctions would be lifted soon, adding that new conditions were to be expected.

The U.N. Security Council on May 30 adopted Resolution 757, imposing sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro.

Jovanovic said he expected that the new demands would include the calling of new elections in Serbia and Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia's applying for international recognition and pressures concerning the alleged minority rights violations in Serbia.

Commenting the U.N. sanctions against Serbia, Jovanovic said they were "above all the failure of international law."

The fault lies also with those who have made the resolution, holding us directly responsible for everything.

UN Sanctions Depriving Serbs of Medical Supplies

LD2206194192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1840 GMT 22 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—A plane at Belgrade airport carrying oxygen cylinders and solutions used in dialysis for 300 kidney patients who are dying because they cannot receive medical aid in the hospital in Banja Luka, did not leave on Monday [22 June], because it is still waiting for permission to fly to this town in the northwestern part of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav plane has been waiting for days for the United Nations, or rather, the UN committee for the implementation of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to allow the airlifting of medicine and medical material.

The transport of aid by land is impossible because the blockade by Muslim-Croatian forces. Bosnia-Hercegovina has allowed Croatia to control its air-transport.

Oxygen shortage has resulted in the deaths of 12 Serbian, Muslim and Croatian babies in incubators. Three kidney patients have also died in the same hospital, because there were not sufficient quantities of solutions used in dialysis.

Banja Luka is the centre of Bosanska Krajina, a region which is a part of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and is outside the battlefield. As far as territory is concerned, it is not a part of the new Yugoslavia which has been hit by sanctions because of alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The situation in the other Serb-inhabited areas outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is similar. In Knin, the centre of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, a 17-year old girl died because of lack of medicine.

The tragedy threatens to become even greater, especially in the Serb-inhabited areas outside the Yugoslav

Republic of Yugoslavia [as received] because the health services there have collapsed. The Serbs face extermination. For over one month, the authorities of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Serbian Krajina which is under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), have been appealing to the international community for help, but all in vain.

Even though the sanctions do not officially include Bosnia-Hercegovina or Croatia, the Serbs in these former Yugoslav republics, after the introduction of the United Nations punitive measures against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, are not receiving any aid.

The Yugoslav State Committee for Cooperation with the UN sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Friday [19 June], asking him to mediate in the setting up of a flight corridor with the airports in Banja Luka (in the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) and Udbine (in the republic of Serbian [words indistinct] in order to airlift medicine and food to the endangered areas.

The UN committee for implementing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, contrary to regulations, has put the demand to allow humanitarian flights to the Serbian Krajinas into regular procedure instead of considering the matter under summary procedures.

This confirms that the UN sanctions are punishing the whole of the Serbian nation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and that by applying sanctions to humanitarian aid which is exempt from them, Resolution 757 is being violated.

Kosovo Constitution Seen as 'Direct Attack'

LD2206201292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The heralded constitution of the assembly of the so-called "Republic of Kosovo" is an act of unconstitutional conduct and a direct attack on the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Serbia, according to the assessment by the Serbian Government. The following statement was issued from a government session:

"The Government of the Republic of Serbia has been briefed about preparations for the constitution of the so-called assembly of the Republic of Kosovo by representatives elected at the illegal elections for the so-called Republic of Kosovo. These illegal elections and the heralded constitution of that assembly are acts of unconstitutional conduct and a direct attack on the unity, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of the Republic of Serbia on the part of separatist forces with the open and direct support of the official policy of the Republic of Albania.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia warns the organizers of such activities that it will not tolerate endangerment of the legal constitutional order and that the organizers will bear responsibility for all consequences of such conduct.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia stresses with regret that in the past three months representatives of political parties rallying the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohija turned down three invitations to dialogue in connection with the current political issues and the exercise of the rights of members of the Albanian national minority in that province. Firmly committed to resolving and overcoming all outstanding issues regarding the rights and status of the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohije by political means within the framework of the existing republican Constitution, the government once more is extending its invitation to representatives of the political parties of the Albanian minority to start such a dialogue. A meeting, which should be held as soon as possible in the presence of the prime minister, would discuss all aspects of the issue of the exercise of the rights of the members of the Albanian national minority. The government stresses that all issues regarding the autonomy of Kosovo and Metohija can be resolved exclusively within the framework of the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia reiterates and underlines to all members of all national minorities in the republic, including the most numerous one—the Albanian national minority—that it guarantees the exercise and improvement of all their rights belonging to them on the basis of the international documents and the CSCE political documents.

The government stresses that only dialogue and cooperation, and not unconstitutional means and separatism, can ensure the enjoyment of these rights.

In connection with this, the Republic of Serbia recalls and underlines in particular the internationally prescribed obligation of the members of national minorities to be loyal to their countries and to respect their constitutional order, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. The government calls on the leadership of the Albanian political parties to behave and act in line with this obligation, and thus to make their concrete contribution to overcoming the existing problems and to creating relations of mutual respect, trust, and cooperation," says the statement from today's session of the Serbian Government.

Hungary's Demands 'Not Conducive' to Peace

LD2106161192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1448 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (TANJUG)—The demands of Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky for deploying international peace-keepers in the Serbian

northern province of Vojvodina are certainly not conducive to a policy of peace and good-neighbourly cooperation, but to other ends and aspirations, writes the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Sunday [21 June].

In a number of interviews, and in his addresses at the sessions of the NATO Cooperation Council and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) follow-up in Helsinki, Jeszenszky called for sending peace-keeping troops to Vojvodina, where ethnic Hungarians make up 17 per cent of the population. In explanation, he said that "the situation there looks very much like that in the other parts of former Yugoslavia on the eve of the outbreak of ethnic clashes," writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

The international community has not recommended that such a force be deployed, nor has Yugoslavia agreed to receive it, for which reason "Jeszenszky's efforts...can be regarded as a hostile act of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state," writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Hungary's actions in connection with developments in Serbia and, specifically, in Vojvodina, are too transparent and as such not worthy of notice, writes the daily.

The Hungarian foreign minister could hardly be surprised by Serbia's stern attitude to his initiative and its view of the initiative as a hostile act, because Budapest's efforts could at no time be described as peaceful and even less as good-neighbourly, writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI in conclusion.

POLITIKA Claims Croatia Preparing for War

92BA1064A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 92 p 7

[Article by Radoje Arsenic: "Is Croatia Preparing for War?"]

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May—Today, Croatia is celebrating "Statehood Day" as an official holiday—the day two years ago when the constituent meeting of the Assembly was held with its multiparty membership. However inappropriate that name might seem, because it suggests the possibility that before that Croatia was not a state, although the present creators of the Croatian state, led by President Tudjman, persistently emphasize the alleged "continuous 13-century Croatian statehood," the fact that Croatia has finally received both international recognition (on 15 January of this year) and has been received into the United Nations (on 22 May) could have a very great effect on those peacekeeping actions of the United Nations in that republic, that is, on the ultimate destiny of the peacekeeping forces of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], which still had not altogether taken over their duties and responsibility.

In other words, peaceful and authentic resolution of the very profound conflict between the Croats and Serbs in this republic, which was escalated thanks to the unilateral Croatian secession, is seriously jeopardized. This is suggested by the increasingly numerous statements by Croatian political and military leaders. It seems the countdown has begun for the departure of the UNPROFOR from the soil of Croatia.

The War Slogan "It's Us or Them"

It is self-evident that this would not be any problem if there were not behind it the tragic fact of a reopening of the military conflict, and that, by all appearances, in its most cruel form, under the slogan "It's Us or Them."

The first forecasts and signals are already coming in from foreign diplomatic circles to the effect that the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations will pull out immediately if conflicts are resumed in Croatia, and that is possible only if the Croatian forces attack the Serbs in Krajina, because the opposite version is simply impossible. The Serbs, that is, neither want nor can undertake any attack outside the areas in which they constitute a majority and in which they have declared in favor of their sociopolitical community in accordance with democratic principles of self-determination. The fate of peace in Croatia and in that part of the former Yugoslavia obviously is in the hands of the Croatian regime.

And that regime—as things stand—is maintained most easily while Croatia is in a state of convulsive war and chaos, because the best time for closing the ranks and for obedience to whoever is in power at the moment is while "there is a swarm of enemies." It is no accident, then, that many people in Croatia came to the conclusion a year ago that peace would mean the fall of the Tudjman regime, because he had proven that he is simply incapable of peacetime government of a state and a people by means of democracy and prosperity. Croatia, that is, has never recorded this kind of total decline and retrogression in all areas of social life and people's lives, but that fact cannot be justified by a military conflict, especially because all other roads of political achievement of the goals they desire lie open to Tudjman's regime. If, of course, there were the ability and desire for that.

According to many indicators, however, Croatia is preparing to resume the war, and that a war in which it will not be able to avoid the position and destiny of an aggressor. After all, the present regime sees the "final solution" of relations with the Serbian people in only two ways: Either subjugate the Serbs unconditionally to the authority of Zagreb or force them to do so by armed force, i.e., by an attack on Krajina. In a rally in Zagreb after his return from Croatia's acceptance into the United Nations, that was Tudjman's unambiguous message to the Serbs: that "this is the last moment for them to come to their senses and cease the armed struggle against sovereign Croatia."

"They have to make up their mind and realize that they have no other way out except to accept the sovereign and independent Croatian authority and state if they want to live in it, and if they do not, let them go where they will

find their own land," Tudjman said, which states quite clearly what kind of real position the Serbian people has on that soil, i.e., that the present powers that be do not recognize that they are on and in their own land. Incidentally, there has been an abundance of such statements ever since the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] came to power in Croatia, and this merely provides additional clarification as to why it is the way it is in Croatia today.

In a situation of having to choose between giving themselves up to domination and consenting to the position of permanent "guests" and foreigners in their own country or of fighting once again for their freedom and equality, the Serbian people in Croatia have chosen the second solution. At the same time, it has nothing against the Croatian state—which has been emphasized many times—but simply is striving in keeping with the natural and human rights which every free people has to decide its own destiny. However, that will not happen with the present exclusive and nationalistic Croatian Government, and that is why it is completely realistic to expect that the present regime will do everything to force the Serbian people in that republic to be obedient.

UNPROFOR Is a Hindrance to Croatia

The main role of the UN peacekeeping forces here can only hinder such intentions, because the UNPROFOR forces have come to this republic to maintain the peace until the conflict is resolved by democratic and political means. And that means honoring and respecting all sides. The way that fact is viewed by the Croatian Government is rather clearly interpreted by Vladimir Seks, the new republic prosecutor, whose actions speak loudly about the essence of the present Croatian Government. In an interview with GLOBUS (22 May), he said:

"Cyrus Vance's plan, which Croatia accepted, said that Croatian legislation would temporarily not apply, until political resolution of the Yugoslav crisis in this area (under UN protection). The political solution has been accomplished by the recognition of four sovereign states and creation of the 'new Yugoslavia.' There is no longer any debate of Yugoslavia at the conference in Brussels, but rather of the succession of the former Yugoslavia, and accordingly the political solution has been finished. If within the specified period—which certainly cannot be stipulated because their deployment depends on many things—the UNPROFOR does not begin to ensure the return of those driven out, performance of the reconstruction program, reestablishment of laws and institutions of the system, and if it does not guarantee the departure of the army and all the associated paramilitary units, Croatia will express its gratitude to the UNPROFOR and move with its own army to liberate its territory."

Thus, Seks is actually "falsifying the role and tasks of the UNPROFOR, which is nothing unusual for present-day Croatia, because it 'shapes' reality consistent with what suits it at the moment." It thus turns out that the UNPROFOR forces were supposed to make it possible for the Croatian regime to reestablish its authority on the territory of Krajina, which has nothing at all to do with the tasks of the UN peacekeeping forces, especially because it is explicitly stated that the legal system of the Republic of Croatia will not apply until a political solution in this region.

Seks also distorts the content of the "political solution," saying that with international recognition of Croatia that "political solution has been completed."

The solution, however, has to do with disentangling relations between Croats and Serbs in Croatia, which is the source of the principal causes of the war in that republic, and they have not been moved even a millimeter from the present point by the establishment of Croatia as an independent state. What is more, one can even say that they have deteriorated.

Nor is there much practical benefit in this respect from whether some "legal perturbation" now regards the Serbian people in Croatia as a minority or equal nationality. A stroke of the pen on paper, that is, does not solve such issues, but real relations and the ability of a people to be free or not.

Seks' Message

Because the Serbs in that republic have been forcibly returned and cast back into the formal position of an ethnic minority, whereas until the Tudjman regime arrived they were an equal nationality (or were perhaps only lied to in that respect)—it really is difficult to suppose that after everything they have lived through and survived in the recent past solely because they felt that they could continue to remain a free and equal people that they will give in to threats and the ultimatum of the present Croatian regime.

This resolution of theirs is certainly affected in its way by the statements of Croatian leaders, such as one that Seks made in GLAS SLAVONIJE, when without beating about the bush he indicated what is waiting for the Serbs in Croatia, that is, of course, if things go the way he and people like him want. Having promised that "all those who bloodied their hands or otherwise took part in the war against Croatia will not be able to live in Croatia," he also said:

"The only question is that of how many are those who did not give support to this, and support is not given only by active acts, but also by a complete passivity. I do not know how many they are, but it is obvious that there are very few of those who behaved correctly and who remained loyal, but it will be desperately difficult even for them."

So that being the case, why should they not fight to the end for their krajina, i.e., for their freedom?

The way the role of the UNPROFOR is seen by the structure that is today the most influential one in power in Croatia is unambiguously demonstrated by a statement of Vladimir Glavas, the "hawk" from Osijek, who just the other day was promoted to president of the city government. As though he had read Seks' lips (they come from the same town), he also said in an interview with GLOBUS:

"I do not have very complete information on the talks between our government and the representative of the UNPROFOR, but it would not surprise me if a dismissal came down soon. I repeat—if they do not fulfill the task for which they came to Croatia in a very short time, the Croatian Government will be forced to deny hospitality to them. And then we will have to liberate our territory ourselves."

Democratic Movement Calls for Government Resignation

LD2206224792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2053 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS) does not recognize the May elections for the federal parliament nor the legitimacy of the organs and officials chosen thereof, said on Monday [22 June] Vladeta Jankovic, spokesman for DEPOS, Democratic Movement of Serbia.

Jankovic made the statement following a meeting of a delegation of this newly-formed political forum in Serbia with president of the F.R. [Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic.

DEPOS, formed in mid-May at the initiative of some 50 intellectuals, has put forth as its goal a political turn in the country and a democratic renewal of society.

As the pre-condition for attaining its goals, DEPOS has set out the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian Government as well as the dissolution of the republican parliament.

[Word indistinct] representatives, received on Monday by President Cosic as part of his rounds of meetings with the parties and movements of Yugoslavia, told a press conference that Cosic made special note that elections at all levels would be held by the [word indistinct] the year and that he understood this also to mean elections for president of Serbia.

The DEPOS delegation, as they set out, warned Cosic that there was no time to hold elections by the end of the year and proposed a 'shortcut' - resignation of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic.

Cosic replied, as the delegation said, that early departure of Slobodan Milosevic could bring about chaos in Serbia and thereby confuse and trigger off antagonism in Serbia.

In view of the DEPOS representatives, Cosic believes that with his coming to office of president of Yugoslavia, the Serbian president lost some of the powers he had previously, such as in the area of foreign policy.

For this very reason, the president of Yugoslavia would urge well thought out and evolutionary changes as this, in his view, was the right way, it was said at the press conference.

Cosic, as DEPOS representatives said, expected much of the new federal government, which was to effect many changes in the political life.

Kosovo

Republican Assembly Session Not Permitted

LD2306095492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—The constituent assembly of the so-called "Republic of Kosovo", which was to be held in Pristina at 1000 today, has been postponed because the "Government of the Republic of Serbia did not permit the session," the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK] has announced.

At a news conference in the party's headquarters, about 30 journalists were informed that the police blocked the building and arrested several former policemen of Albanian nationality who were to provide security for that illegal gathering. The building director, Cazim Cazimi, has been arrested, but it has been learned that he was released this morning.

DSK Deputy Chairman Dr. Fehmi Agani told journalists that "the assembly session has been postponed until further notice." He added that attempts will nevertheless be made to hold the session today, but he does not believe that this will be possible.

LDK's Rugova Speaks on Situation in Kosovo

AU2306073592 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 13 Jun 92 p 3

[B.R. report on Kosovo Democratic Alliance news conference held in Pristina on 12 June: "We Ask For Permanent International Observers"]

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK], concentrated mainly on three major issues at yesterday's news conference: the constant repression in Kosovo, the two CSCE missions to Kosovo (the previous military one and the forthcoming one), and the inclusion of Kosovo in the international community's humanitarian aid.

Ibrahim Rugova first informed journalists that Serbian police repression is still continuing in Kosovo, especially against the political activists of the LDK and other parties after the 24 May elections. He then thanked the

CSCE mission and the Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Center for their important report on the military situation in Kosovo. With respect to the military situation in Kosovo, Rugova added that the forces outside Kosovo and the continuing arming of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo might be dangerous. He also welcomed the most recent decision of the CSCE's Senior Officials' Committee to send a new mission of observers and at the same time asked for the deployment of permanent missions of international observers in Kosovo. At the end of his political observations, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova demanded that the arrival and distribution of humanitarian aid should be made possible in Kosovo.

The Bush-Berisha Meeting Important for the Balkans [subhead]

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, answering the BUJKU journalist's question about whether U.S. President Bush's meeting Albanian President Sali Berisha and Russian President Yeltsin on the same day (Monday 15 June) is a coincidence and whether a three-sided meeting is possible, said that it is a coincidence. What is important is that the president of Albania has been invited to Washington only two months after the democratic and free elections in Albania. Surely this will be an important meeting not only for the Balkans but also for our cause in general.

Radio Croatia's correspondent asked Dr. Rugova to comment on the new movements in Serbia for Slobodan Milosevic's resignation, the decision of the Albanians of three southern communes in Serbia to participate in the local elections, and the award that he and Sali Berisha were given by the U.S. Congress. Dr. Rugova said that the movements in Serbia are positive, which shows that the Serbian people have begun to change their political views after the approval of the UN sanctions. Concerning the Albanians from the three southern Serbian communes who went to the local polls, Rugova said that this can be explained by a desire to gain power in local government and does not contradict their determination for territorial autonomy, decided at the recent referendum. Meanwhile, concerning the annual award of the U.S. Congress, Dr. Rugova said that this award is a token of gratitude for our democratic movement, for the Albanian people, and a personal pleasure. What is important is that this token of gratitude, for which we express thanks, confirms a new political phenomenon: Albanian democracy has been recognized and honored. This is a progressive political movement of this people.

The VECERNJI LIST correspondent asked whether there is information about the Albanians in the southern Serbian communes being taken to join the Serbian police in Kosovo, in order to prove to the new CSCE mission that Albanians are included in the Serbian police too. The same correspondent asked whether, after the reports of the failure of the dialogue offered by the Serbian Government and after recent statements in some papers, the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo have begun to sober up from Milosevic's politics. He asked whether the Albanians are expecting a civil war in Serbia to achieve their aspirations without bullets.

Chauvinist Competitions [subhead]

Dr. Rugova said that it is not his practice to comment on the writings of journalists. However, concerning the uniforming of Albanians from southern Serbia in the Serbian Police, he has some such information and this might be another Serbian Government trick for the international public. We do not accept them because they are not even from Kosovo. Concerning the dialogue offered by the Serbian Government, he said that we have said before and we repeat again that we want only a serious dialogue, well prepared, and on the basis of European criteria. We do not want superficial talks with short-term results. Dr. Fehmi Agani, replying to these questions, said that there are two kinds of disappointment at Milosevic's policy in general and his policy toward Kosovo in particular: First, those who expected much and whose hopes have not been realized, mainly Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, have been disappointed. The others are the democrats. The most recent movements in Serbia have democratic tendencies. Just as we have been against the option of war in other parts of the country, we remain true to this antiwar stand in this case too, and would not rejoice at any civil war in Serbia. Finally, Agani said, I want to emphasize that Branko Kostic's claim in his letter to Butrus Ghali that he has positively fulfilled all the conditions of the UN Resolution is not true, because, according to Item No. 6 of UN Security Council Resolution No. 752, no displacement of the population from one territory to another may be allowed, and nor may the forced change of an area's ethnic structure be allowed. Meanwhile, he, like other politicians in the electoral campaign in Serbia, have simply been competing to see who can say the worst and most chauvinistic things about the Albanians.